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Reconstructing experiences of a lifetime, an oral history of educator Alma Marie Gloeckler

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Reconstructing experiences of a lifetime: An oral history of educator Alma Marie Gloeckler

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RECONSTRUCTING EXPERIENCES OF A LIFETIME, AN ORAL HISTORY OF EDUCATOR ALMA MARIE GLOECKLER

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by

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ABSTRACT

RECONSTRUCTING EXPERIENCES OF A LIFETIME,
AN ORAL HISTORY OF EDUCATOR ALMA MARIE GLOECKLER

by Mary Brown Carson

This thesis is an interpretative biography of Alma Marie Gloeckler, born in 1906 into a Mennonite family homesteading in Saskatchewan, Canada. It is a chronological presentation of the people, places and events that influenced Alma's long and busy life.

Narrative material includes: immigration of the Mennonite Brethren from Russia into Canada and the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, homesteading life in Canada, the Depression and the rise of agribusiness in the San Joaquin Valley between 1921-1942; the educational theory of John Dewey, in particular his ideas concerning the role of esthetics in education; Japanese incarceration at Tule Lake, California during World War II; the Elementary Assistant program in the Oakland public schools, 1948-1952; Alma's career in education teaching at every level from kindergarten to university (1928-1975); gender discrimination; retirement and social activism in San Jose, California during the 1980s.

Dedication

To Tom, my partner, who made it possible
and
To Alma, the inspiration, who made it memorable

CONTENTS

Under the Turtle Shell

I feel as though I live
inside a turtle shell.
Soft inside
alive
very alive
very much alive.
Hard outside
not affected by everything
not everything.

Simultaneously,
I see
a great big world of living
from inside
under my turtle shell
under the shell.

ALMA MARIE GLOECKLER, 1992

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

I met Alma Gloeckler at Queen of Apostles school in San Jose, California, September, 1970. Alma was the new first grade teacher and my oldest child, Maria, was a new first grader. The warm greetings that Alma gave to children and parents that day became her hallmark.

Very soon the classroom became an art gallery for the children's work. Everywhere you looked Alma displayed either the children's art or beautiful fabric in colorful designs. The room took on a cluttered, comfortable look, very different indeed from the Catholic school classroom of the 1940s in which I had been a student. I remember Alma created a reading corner with comfortable pillows for lounging and everywhere books, books, books. Maria and her classmates enjoyed school. The parents thought Alma was wonderful and rejoiced among themselves that this wonderful "non-Catholic" teacher was at their school.

Two years later, my son, Tom, was Alma's student. As a nervous Mom, I worried about Tom's lack of interest in reading. Alma reassured me that he simply "had not yet found a book that appealed to him." Of course, she was right. I greatly valued her wisdom and deeply appreciated her interest in my family: four children, my husband, and my Mother. Alma became my good friend. I cared for my mother during the years that Alma cared for her mother so our conversations were often philosophical, wondering out loud about life and death. After Maggie died and Alma retired, we continued to visit, frequently celebrating holidays together.

I returned to school about the same time my children began leaving home to attend college. When it came time to select a topic for a Master's thesis, I considered writing about education. As an older student and a parent, I was very conscious of the learning dynamics in the classroom. Discussing this one day with

my advisor, Dr. Nancy Grey Osterud, I began talking about Alma. Dr. Osterud, always a careful listener, waited until I finished. Then, she suggested that I do an oral history with Alma as the subject. I can recall feeling a thrill shoot through me. Write about Alma?! If ever there was a story waiting to be told, this was it!

When I mentioned the idea to Alma, she responded thoughtfully, "Yes, there is a story to tell." And so Alma, the storyteller, in a series of eleven interviews during September and October, 1990, shared the details of her life. A few months before we actually got started, Dr. Osterud provided background reading by Dr. Sherna Gluck on a suggested procedure for recording oral histories. Alma and I read the essay before we met to begin our conversations. All but one of the interviews were conducted at Alma's home in San Jose. Neither of us had participated in such an activity in the past. However, because of our long years of friendship, I was completely comfortable about asking questions. Alma was equally at ease in her responses.

I chose to tell Alma's story chronologically instead of isolating particular topics or themes. Whenever she mentioned something that in my opinion required clarification for a reader, I provided additional information. For example, at the beginning I felt it was important to provide background information on the Mennonite Brethren. I followed this pattern throughout, weaving Alma's story into social and political realities of the twentieth century. Whenever possible, I used Alma's references as resources to understand and interpret the events she described. I was fortunate because Alma has a clear memory, is extremely talkative, has marvelous resources, and at age eighty-four was very enthusiastic about the opportunity to create a legacy for her family and for her profession.

In conducting the interviews, I asked questions that enabled Alma to talk about her life. Often Alma did exactly what she claims children do with story, she "fell into" her own story. The color and detail of telling the story often caused her to become "lost" when the story ended. "Now, where are we?" My task was to keep the many stories connected to a storyline that moved to a conclusion. While Alma was telling the story, I listened. This was never dull; both the discussions and the process were of great interest to me. The story's ending, it seems, took us both by surprise. All of a sudden, the end!

After we finished interviewing, I immediately transcribed the fourteen tapes that told the tale. This was tedious work and when I finished in November, I took a holiday break. In January, 1991, I became aware of how little I knew about much of what Alma had discussed. The following year I tried to become better informed and I began writing January, 1992. Alma's story seemed to "fit" into six chapters which took about six weeks each to compose. I finished the manuscript in August, 1992.

Writing about Alma's life was simplified by the wealth of her personal resources which included: private correspondence, personal papers, family history, and the writings by and about personalities involved in education. Once the project was underway Alma gave on-going assistance in her readiness to answer my many questions.

My invaluable sounding board for the story's composition was Dr. Nancy Grey Osterud. Dr. Osterud offered little or no advice on "how to." When I found a way of using Alma's voice in the storytelling, Dr. Osterud continually encouraged my efforts. Her comments and basic knowledge about much of what I was reporting were enormously helpful. I particularly relied on Dr. Osterud's editorial criticisms about the relevancy of the material I chose to enhance the telling of Alma's story.

CHAPTER ONE

RUSSIA INTO NORTH AMERICA, 1873-1899

From her earliest memories there was music--music at home, music at school and music at church. For Alma Marie Gloeckler, the eldest daughter of a Mennonite family homesteading in Canada, music created a window to the world. As a child, song allowed Alma a glimpse into that which became a vital part of her adult life--the world of the arts. The creativity and diversity inherent in the arts resonated within Alma and found expression in her life's work as a teacher.

During a lifetime that began in 1906 and continues to the present, Alma's vocation as a teacher remains her consuming passion. From 1928 through 1975 Alma taught at every level from kindergarten through university. And because she valued the reciprocity involved in learning, Alma was ever the student. True to her own experience, Alma recognizes the uniqueness of how we learn and of how we give expression to what we know and feel. The richness of her story reveals a philosophy of living that celebrates the innate value of the individual in relationship to the community.

When Alma talked about her life, she focused directly on the people, places, and events that influenced her personal and professional decisions. Indirectly, her conversations created a wide-angle lens that revealed an extraordinary period of history. By placing Alma in the center of this framework, it is possible to look closely at a diverse range of topics such as religion, music, California agriculture, educational theory, storytelling, gender, and social activism. As a woman, an educator, and a citizen of the world for most of the twentieth century, the breadth of Alma's experience gives her story unique human and historical value.

MENNONITE BACKGROUND

Without a doubt, the early experience of community life with the Mennonite Brethren in Great Deer, Saskatchewan, Canada, contributed to Alma's profound respect for the mystery and majesty of the human spirit. It is important, therefore, to begin with a brief history of these extraordinary people and to place Alma's predecessors in their midst.

The Mennonites, a religious sect that came into being during the Reformation, traditionally place great value on a spirituality dictated by personal conscience rather than uncritical allegiance to an institutional church. The religious and ethnic heritage of the Mennonite Brethren is traced back to Dutch Anabaptism. Emphasis on each individual's search for the truth of the Bible, in addition to strong European ethnic influences, resulted in a variety of Mennonite congregations. Shared beliefs held in common among them included love of the Bible, adult baptism, passive resistance to hostility, and separation of church and state. These beliefs were the focus of teachings by Menno Simon, founder of the Mennonite denomination.

In 1536, Menno Simon, a Dutch priest, renounced the Roman Catholic church and joined the Anabaptists. Anabaptism originated and developed independently in several areas of South-Central and Northern Europe. Anabaptists agreed with the reformers, Luther in Germany and Zwingli in Switzerland, on the doctrine of salvation and justification by faith through grace. However, they were deeply disappointed that Luther did not go far enough in rejecting current church practices.

The practice of infant baptism was unacceptable to the Anabaptists because it was not considered Biblical. Baptism was an adult profession of faith; therefore

Anabaptists broke with tradition and did not baptize their own children. For adults already baptized as infants, the Anabaptists (again baptizers) believed that a second baptism in adulthood was required for salvation. Using a pattern for church found in the New Testament, Anabaptists desired a "believers' church" based on an "unreserved commitment to the guidance of the Holy Spirit through the Word of God."[1] Mennonites also strongly opposed the historical marriage of church and state. They believed that the church should not serve as an arm of the state.[2]

Menno assumed leadership of the Dutch Anabaptists in 1537 at a time when violence and the practice of polygamy within one segment of the ranks threatened to discredit the movement.[3] Menno's followers emphasized faith based on Scripture and called themselves Mennonites, peaceful Anabaptists. As early as 1544, ethnic differences among the group resulted in separate branches on the Anabaptist-Mennonite family tree. Mennonite scholar, John H. Redekop, commented that in spite of the ethnic separation that eventually occurred, the earliest Mennonites were strictly a religious group comprised of German, Swiss and Dutch ethnicities.[4]

Early church leaders, including Conrad Greel who was Swiss, the Dutch Menno Simon, and others from Germany, demonstrated religious unity in spite of ethnic origin. Two factors contributed to the ethnic designation: Anabaptist theology and cultural isolation. As a persecuted minority, the Mennonites fostered "an in-group in mentality and heredity." As the group withdrew and "separated from the world," their name came to identify an ethnic, as well as a religious entity.[5]

Following Menno Simon's death in 1561, his disciples, the Mennonites, continued to advocate freedom of conscience, separation of church and state, and the renunciation of war and violence. By 1600, religious persecution caused the Mennonites from the Netherlands to flee into northern Germany. They went into

the Vistula Delta, first under Polish rule and later under Prussian rule (1792). Later still, they moved into the free city of Danzig where government authorities exercised greater religious tolerance.

Mennonite families were large and there was a continuing need for additional farmland. These pious, hardworking people were characterized by their impressive agricultural skills. Migrations to the new world seeking religious freedom and the promise of free land began as early as the seventeenth century and reached a peak in the nineteenth century. In 1680, William Penn granted the Mennonites both freedom of religion and plenty of cheap farmland as an enticement to settle in Pennsylvania. Mennonites received "as much land as they thought proper to take at a shilling an acre."[6] By the middle of the eighteenth century, thanks in large measure to these industrious wheat farmers, Pennsylvania was recognized as the "breadbasket" of the colonies.

For Mennonites unable to undergo the rigors and expense of travel to the new world, an alternative presented itself during the reign of Catherine the Great (1762-1796). In 1783, the Crimea with the adjoining provinces was ceded by the Turks to Russia. Not long after, the Mennonites in Germany received a proposal from Catherine, herself a German princess, to develop agriculture in the steppes, the prairies, of South Russia. Catherine invited the Mennonites to colonize the newly acquired southern province of Taurida in the Ukraine. She hoped the Mennonites would eventually become completely integrated into the region through intermarriage.

The Mennonites, who were permitted to retain their foreign citizenship, believed the proposal offered "perpetual freedom from bearing arms, the rights of self-government, and the full enjoyment of their religious principles."[7] In reality,

Catherine intended the offer for one hundred years. Most of the German/Dutch Mennonites responded to this attractive offer and thousands emigrated to Russia between 1788 and the 1830's.

Migrations to Russia, which began in 1788 prior to the Napoleonic wars, were accelerated once the wars were under way. Conscription laws in Prussia required the church elders to make payment to exempt their young men from military service. Such demands strengthened the Mennonites' resolve to pursue the promise of religious freedom. The Chortitza Colony in South Russia (later known as the Old Colony) was founded in 1789. The Molotschna Colony, a daughter colony founded in 1804, was located approximately seventy-five miles southeast of the Chortitza settlement, directly north of the Sea of Avoz.

Family records indicate that Alma's maternal ancestors were present in Sud Russland (South Russia) as early as 1792. (Franz Peters was born there January 22, 1792.) These early settlers made a home and began farming in Neuendorf village, Chortitza. The colony grew quickly and by 1800 fifteen villages were established with 400 families. It became necessary to seek land for a second colony and by 1804 the Molotschna Colony was founded.

Gloeckler family history tells that Ernestine and Karl Gloeckler, who were born in Amsterdam and married in Prussia, came into Russia on foot. Alma's paternal ancestors lived in the villages of Gnadenfeld and Petershagen in the Molotschna colony. This daughter colony eventually became the "largest Mennonite settlement ever established in Russia" with 1200 families, 58 villages and 324,000 acres. Mennonite historian, Stanley E. Voth, places the population at near ten thousand.[8]

Years of hard work transformed the vast rolling prairies in South Russia into

farmland where wheat and orchards flourished. Annual Mennonite wheat shipments to European markets averaged ten million bushels. The wheat was not only plentiful, but of such superior quality that it usually commanded ten percent more per bushel than wheat from other sources.[9] In fact, a study by the Kansas State Historical Society (1905-06) reported that South Russian wheat "governed the price of that staple in the world's market."[10] The hardworking Mennonite farmer changed the landscape. Historian Voth recorded, "After twenty years there were upwards to five million trees in the forty-seven villages of the Molotschna colony."[11]

Such a cornucopia of plenty did not bring prosperity to all. Not everyone was a landowner and the predictable tensions that arose between wealthy landlords and the tenant farmers had serious consequences for the Mennonite community. As the Anabaptists had appeared in reaction to spiritual laxity in the 1500s, now under quite different circumstances but with the same deep concern for salvation, a new bud appeared on the Anabaptist-Mennonite family tree. The Mennonite Brethren church came into being on January 6, 1860.

Mennonite historian John B. Toews' *History of the Mennonite Brethren Church* describes the socioeconomic situation in which the Mennonite Brethren separated themselves from the established Mennonite church. The Mennonite colonies settled in Russia were essentially a state within a state. After hundreds of years of advocating separation of church and state, the Mennonites now found themselves basically offered self-rule by the Russian government. The only connection to the Tsar was through a Supervisory Commission that performed primarily administrative duties. In these circumstances, the Mennonite leaders faced a different challenge, a political challenge.

When Russia invited the Mennonites into the country as model farmers, it

stipulated that the regulation 175-acre farm was not to be subdivided. As a result of the rapid increase in population, shortage of land became a serious problem. The situation became most acute in the Molotschna Colony, with a two to one ratio of landless workers to landed farmers in 1865. A hierarchy was created that decreed that a landless farmer had to live on the outskirts of the village. Further, without land the farmer was unable to vote on matters affecting the village. Intermarriage between the two groups was discouraged by the well-to-do.

This class consciousness was directly at odds with the Mennonite doctrine of brotherhood as preached by Jesus Christ in the New Testament. Toews quoted Mennonite Gerhard Lohrenz: "Under these circumstances a slow stagnation crept into the intellectual and spiritual life of the group."[12] A lack of spiritual leadership resulted in social stratification. Amazingly, there was not a single minister among the more than two hundred families who settled in Chortitza. Because ministers were not paid for their services, only the more affluent were chosen from the congregation. Prussia denied passports to these wealthy citizens when the immigration began. Eventually ministers in the colonies were ordained by proxy, but this early lack of leadership continued to plague the Chortitza churches.

From the outset the possibility of establishing brotherhood churches in the new homeland was lost to a system of privileges, both ethnic and economic, that was the antithesis of Anabaptist teachings. The cultural isolation of the colonies, along with their newly acquired civil authority, essentially made monarchs of the church elders. As temporal rulers rather than spiritual leaders, the ministers aligned themselves with the landowners and devoted their energies to maintaining the status quo. According to historian Toews: "This conflict demonstrates how class and property interests soil the church as an 'ethical community of brotherly love.'"[13]

THE FORMATION OF THE MENNONITE BRETHREN CHURCH - 1860

With this backdrop in place for at least five decades of the nineteenth century, the stage was set for a minor reformation. The move toward separation, that became a full blown crisis in 1860, had evolved slowly. The village of Gnadenfeld in the Molotschna Colony, which was home to the Gloeckler family, became known as an important center of spiritual life. The village was founded in 1835 when an entire congregation migrated from Prussia to the southern Ukraine on foot. Ernestine Strauss and Carl Gloeckler, Alma's paternal great-grandparents, were among the pilgrims. The Gnadenfeld Church has been called "the place of inception" of the Mennonite Brethren Church.[14]

Appalled by the disintegration of Anabaptist values, Gnadenfeld elders prayed for God's guidance. They were enlightened by the message of missionary Eduard Wuest, pastor of the Separatist Lutheran (Pietist) Church, who exhorted his listeners, "Beloved, it's either or . . . . This choice I will present to you. I will not leave believers and unbelievers side by side: but you shall be separated according to Paul's teaching in 2 Corinthians 6:14."[15] In response to this call for separation, those who came to call themselves Brethren began to meet in private homes for Bible study and prayer. These meetings "became the cradle for the birth of the M. B. Church."[16]

Gradually, the Brethren became estranged from the Mennonite church. Although this withdrawal revitalized the spiritual life of the few, it presented a threat to the unity of the congregation. In 1859, Mennonite elders chose to ban the separatist minority. Without the support of community, the dissenters experienced social and economic hardships. The new church, born in 1860 out of a "wave of religious fervor, " was "met with ridicule and repression from most church

leaders . . . ."[17]

These circumstances presented a crisis in the Mennonite fraternity that expressed itself dramatically in the Document of Secession, issued in January, 1860. In the Molotschna Colony the twenty-seven men who eventually signed the document expressed the need to separate from the "decadent condition of the Mennonite Brotherhood." Citing the authority of the Holy Scripture and "in agreement with our dear Menno," the statement delineated the corruption of the Scriptural message in daily life and stated an intent to "completely dissociate ourselves from these decadent churches." The Document of Secession included the causes of their discontent and an expression of their beliefs.[18]

In an effort by the Elders to use their civil powers to control this challenge, all religious gatherings were prohibited on the basis of Article 362 of the Russian Penal Code. When negotiations failed, the breakaways realized they would have to organize as a church in order to make effective representation of their cause to the Russian government. Election of ministers occurred in May, 1860. In the meantime, all Brethren who had signed the Document of Secession were threatened with banishment from the colony. One member was sentenced to hard labor. Others were imprisoned on false charges and suffered economic ruin and severe hardships. In order to contain the revolt, the authorities forbade Brethren to leave the colony. Requests for passports were denied.[19]

Johaassen Claassen, a member of the Gnadenfeld Church, was chosen to lead a mission to Petersburg in order to obtain recognition for the new Mennonite Brethren Church. Additionally, Claassen was to secure permission for resettlement in another part of the country because of the religious and economic oppression in both Molotschna and Chortitza. The petition was submitted to the Russian Tsar on

May 21, 1862. Elders of the Mennonite Church gave formal recognition to the Mennonite Brethren Church in 1862. Four years later, on May 30, 1866, Claassen received official confirmation of full religious and civil privileges for the Mennonite Brethren Church.

Sporadic attempts to discredit and destroy the young church continued for some time. Bitter controversy engendered feelings which severely damaged the relationship between the two groups for decades. Not until the Centennial Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Churches held in Reedley, California, in 1960 was a formal reconciliation reached among all parties. Historian Toews defined the Mennonite Brethren's contribution: "What it gave the Russian Mennonites was a rebirth of personal piety, a living piety in which the individual believer receives assurance of the forgiveness of his sins, and orders his life definitely according to the teachings of Christ, particularly the Sermon on the Mount."[20]

The problem of landlessness among the Mennonites was finally solved by the division of crown lands with the intent to purchase large tracts of land for daughter colonies. Kuban, located on the Kuban river in the Northern Caucasus, was the only daughter colony established under the auspices of the Mennonite Brethren Church. The result of such privileges enjoyed by the Mennonites created hard feeling among their Russian neighbors. Shortly thereafter, in 1871, it was decreed that all privileges extended to the Mennonites were to be disavowed within the decade.

The promises made "in perpetuity" that enticed the Mennonites to migrate east into Russia rather than west to the New World were rescinded by the Imperial decree of Czar Alexander II on June 4, 1871. Under this new law Mennonites were granted ten years, until 1881, to choose whether they would emigrate or resign their

privileges and remain in Russia as Russian citizens. Of greatest concern to these pacifists was the national mandate to bear arms in military service. This grave threat to Mennonite religious convictions made emigration a serious alternative. Almost immediately, Elders of the Mennonite Brethren church made arrangements to travel to the United States and Canada to reconnoiter prospects for relocation.

As the possibility of a Mennonite emigration became a reality, Russia expressed reluctance to release "her best farmers." The Czar, fearing a mass exodus was imminent, sought to compromise on military duties. Mennonites would not be required to bear arms; instead, military duties were to be fulfilled by hospital services. Although this quieted concerns for many Mennonites, for others the proposed reforms, which sought to merge "every foreign element (language and religion) into their own Russian nationality," meant that any concessions were temporary.[21] This apparent threat to Mennonite identity created new concerns.

The story Alma tells begins in the colonies during this era. Alma's maternal grandparents were born in the village of Neuendorf in Chortitza colony, located northeast of the Black Sea near the Dneiper River in South Russia. Alma's paternal grandparents were born in the villages of Gnadenfeld and Petershagan, Molotschna colony, located directly north of Sea of Azov near the Molochnaya River from which the colony derived its name. All four grandparents were born in the 1850's. By the time these young people came of age in the 1870's, dramatic changes threatened the Mennonites in Russia.

Almost two years of international negotiations preceded the Gloeckler families' journey to North America. These efforts are chronicled in a fascinating "scrapbook" about the Mennonite immigration from Russia between 1870 and 1885. *Brothers in Deed to Brothers in Need* includes accounts of how the United States and

Canada competed to secure these attractive immigrants. Both countries perceived the Mennonites as God-fearing citizens and "primeval economists whose chief mission is to make two blades of grass grow where one was before."[22] In the United States it was anticipated that these agricultural wizards would increase the wheat exports to Europe by "400 or 500 additional cargoes" and thereby add "twenty to twenty-five millions of gold annually to the U.S. Treasury."[23]

Such social and economic benefits prompted both business and political groups to lobby Washington to meet the Mennonites' needs. A visiting delegation of Russian Elders spelled out the particulars to President Grant: included were exemption from military duty, exemption from service as judge or juror, and control of their own German schools. President Grant denied the request: "no privileges can be accorded to foreign born citizens not accorded to all other citizens." Grant contended that adequate protection was already in place, the Bill of Rights.[24] Further, legislation passed in 1864 to protect conscientious objectors offered the Mennonite Brethren adequate safeguards.

Purchasing land in America presented a dilemma to the visiting Elders. The alternating sections of government and railroad land precluded effective control of the social environment. "Some of the sections . . . would be taken up by persons who do not belong to our colony and who are not in sympathy with us."[25] Besides this, the Mennonites practiced an economic form of communal farming which de-emphasized concerns about private property.

In April of 1874, anticipating forty thousand Russian Mennonite immigrants, legislators from Pennsylvania, Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota petitioned the Department of the Interior to set aside 500,000 acres of public land to accommodate them. The Senate introduced a bill that dealt specifically with "Mennonite Settlers

on the Public Lands" (S. No. 655); however, the bill failed to be enacted.[26] The Homestead Act, already in place, offered land and promoted the national policy of assimilation.

When the Mennonites formally proposed to seek new homes in North America in March 1872, Canada was their second choice. Canada, in contrast to the United States, promised to meet their every need. The liberal offer included a blanket exemption from any military service, eight adjoining townships in the Province of Manitoba to be settled in accordance with the Dominion Lands Act, and unrestricted education of their children. Additionally, Canada supplied loans and reception houses for temporary use upon arrival. [27]

According to the Canadian Homestead law, "Any person who is the head of a family or has attained the age of 21 years, shall be entitled to be entered for one quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated Dominion Lands for the purpose of securing a homestead right." An Amendment for the Mennonites provided for "exclusive use of eight townships and said free grants of one quarter section, to consist of 160 acres each." Also granted was the right to purchase the remaining 3/4 section at $1.00 an acre to complete a whole section of 640 acres. "Settlers will receive a patent for a free grant after three years residence, full religious freedom for children and unrestricted education of their children in schools."[28]

One source of the enthusiastic welcome extended to the Mennonites was William Hespeler, the Canadian Commissioner of Emigration. Hespeler visited the Mennonite colonies in southern Russia in the summer of 1872. His correspondence remarked on the beautiful, regularly built villages, with their magnificent farms, gardens, orchards and groves. A colony "so beautiful and built upon such a scale was not to be found in Europe or America."[29]

The Canadian government's generosity, it seems, was based on the sure knowledge that, the immigrants preferred to settle in the United States, where many kin were already established. Immigration that began in response to William Penn's offer almost one hundred years earlier, resulted in the settlement of 60,000 Mennonites in prosperous farming communities from Pennsylvania to Kansas by 1873.

ALMA'S GREAT-GRANDPARENTS ARRIVE IN NORTH AMERICA - 1873

The family of Alma's paternal great-grandfather, Carl Gloeckler, was among the first nineteen Russian Mennonite Brethren families to arrive in the United States, on August 21, 1873.[30] Carl was sixty-two years old and was accompanied by his wife, Ernestine Strauss (58), and three sons, Carl (19), David (17), and Abraham (14). The party also included Carl's oldest son, John, and his family of five, and Ernestine's brother, John Strauss, and his family of seven. The journey took seven weeks. After landing in New York, the party traveled west to Elkhart, Indiana. Once in Indiana, the exact itinerary of the families is not known.

One year earlier, in the winter of 1872, the Minnesota Legislature, urged by the Governor, issued a formal invitation to the Russian Mennonites to settle in Minnesota. Minnesota was vying with Canada, Kansas and Nebraska to attract the Mennonite immigrants for settlement. Once Minnesota entered the union in 1858 as the thirty-second state, land interests in the state promoted development. Settlement land in southern and western Minnesota was plentiful because of earlier treaties with the Sioux and Chippewa that had forced the Native Americans to cede their lands to white settlers. In the 1870s, the land settled by the Mennonites was mainly in rural Cottonwood County.

There is no way of determining if Carl Gloeckler was aware of Minnesota's

offer before he left Russia. The family history that can be reconstructed through articles in the Mennonite newspaper, *Herald of Truth*, suggests that the Gloecklers went first to Elkhart, Indiana, home base of John F. Funk, editor of the newspaper. The *Herald of Truth* chronicled the experiences of the early settlers throughout the Midwest.

A member of one of Pennsylvania's oldest American Mennonite families, John Funk was among 600 Mennonites who settled in Indiana in the 1860s. Highly respected by both secular and religious groups, Funk worked untiringly to aid in the relocation of Russian Mennonites. An account of his meeting and travels with an "inspecting committee" of Russian Mennonites is reported in the St. Paul Press, June 6, 1873, while the Gloecklers were enroute to America. "In order to enable them to make an intelligent and reliable report, they will visit the country on the Northern Pacific road, the upper Minnesota Valley, and the portion of southwestern Minnesota border on the St. Paul and Sioux City road."[31]

Minnesota's advantages to settlers were vigorously promoted by the Northern Pacific Railroad. The State offered over a million acres of cheap land, beautiful lakes, raging rivers and railroads. Promoters hoped that these assets would attract some Mennonite settlers even though it was known that most of the immigrants were already bound for Kansas and Nebraska.[32]

The *St. Paul Daily Press* published an official report from the Honorable William Seeger to Governor Horace Austin dated December 20, 1873. From the records of the Mountain Lake Church, it seems plausible that this report pertains to the Gloecklers. Seeger wrote:

> I went hither [Elkhard, Indiana] but found them almost decided to go to Kansas, where two of them had been induced to buy lands. I succeeded, however, in persuading them to send a deputation of Mennonites to go with me to Minnesota and

> to explore this State, which we did thoroughly and to their satisfaction; but nevertheless after their return to Indiana they were induced by land agents to go to Yankton, Southern Dakota Territory, and to settle there.

Seeger pursued the "contest" in Yankton and convinced them of the advantages of Minnesota.

> I succeeded in bringing back twenty families to Minnesota, who have since settled at Mountain Lake, Cottonwood County. These have purchased improved farms, railroad lands and government claims. Steps have been taken to erect a church at the railroad station next spring, and I have good reason to believe that ere that time the remaining ten or twelve families from Yankton, D.T., will rejoin this embryo colony at Mount Lake.[33]

In early autumn of 1875 Jacob Wiens, Alma's other paternal great-grandfather, arrived in Mountain Lake with his wife, Susanna, and four of his five children. Jacob Wiens was born in the village of Petershagen, Molotschna Colony. Wiens may have found his way to Mountain Lake because he choose to settle with his Molotschna brethren in Minnesota. Susanna was Jacob's third wife. With the exception of his oldest child, Marie, the Wiens nuclear family arrived in America intact. One year later, Marie arrived with her husband, Heinrich Regier, and their two daughters, Marie and Susanna.[34] Tragically, within months of their arrival Heinrich and his two daughters died from scarlet fever. A posthumous child, Henry, was born on October 10, 1876.

By April 1876, one hundred and thirty Mennonite families lived in Mountain Lake. The church had not organized because there was as yet no minister in the group. Records of the Mennonite Brethren Church at Mountain Lake report that a church was established in June 1877.[35] The same source reveals that Jacob Wiens was one of the first members baptized. Jacob and his wife, Susanna, are listed as charter members of the small Mountain Lake Mennonite Brethren community. The families of Carl Gloeckler, John Gloeckler and John Strauss are not mentioned in the church account. However, it is known that Jacob's daughter, Marie, who was

widowed soon after her arrival in Minnesota, married Alma's grandfather, Carl H. Gloeckler, in June 1879.

Church records show that in 1880, Alma's grandfather, Brother Carl Gloeckler (twenty-six-years old), was asked to carry on singing practice with the young people. Music and especially choir music has a tradition of excellence among the Mennonite Brethren. Mennonite Brethren developed "a new song" when they separated from the traditional church in Russia twenty years earlier. No congregation was without a choir to praise the Lord.[36]

Insight into the scope of the Wiens family's activities during the early years of settlement is found in the same church Centennial publication. On November 3, 1881, Brother Jacob Wiens, Sr., was elected as a minister of the Word. That same year young Jacob Wiens was asked to make home visitation to all the families in the church. In 1885, the youngest brother, Peter Wiens, served as a member of the building committee for a meeting house. Peter served as secretary under the leadership of Elder Heinrich Voth when the north and south churches incorporated in 1892.

From the earliest days of settlement, the immigrants brought with them an strong interest in two institutions that served the Mennonite Brethren Church in Russia: an enthusiasm for the evangelical work of Mission, and the need to establish an annual church-wide Conference.

The work of the missions was to promote evangelism in all Mennonite Brethren Churches. A Mission Board approved brethren for such a ministry, established time schedules for visitation, and gathered funds for the conference treasury to support this work. In addition it considered the reports presented by those who had been involved in an itinerant ministry. This itinerant ministry was

the most important avenue for church extension. One example was the activity of Minnesota Elder Heinrich Voth, who is credited with planting "daughter churches" in the Red River Valley, Manitoba, Canada, in 1884.[37]

The second Mennonite Brethren institution, the annual Conference, served as a means of supporting faith life within the Church. Mennonite Brethren congregations agreed to be regulated through the organization of an annual church-wide conference. From the start (1872), the conferences in the Russian colonies implied a covenant relationship among the Brethren. This same arrangement was replicated in the midwestern United States. Mennonite Brethren scattered through Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas traveled to Henderson, Nebraska, in 1879 to attend the first Mennonite Brethren Conference of North America. Abraham Schellenberg, from Buhler, Kansas, provided leadership to the Conference eighteen times between 1880 and 1900.

Apart from the spiritual nurturing provided by these annual conferences, they served a practical purpose. The interaction between Brethren from different states as reported in the *Herald of Truth* gives fresh meaning to the modern term "extended family." One has only to glance through a few pages of the newspaper, or to read the names listed on shipboard manifests, to note the many families named Peters, Wiens, and Wiebe, to use Alma's kinship as an example. This ethnic dimension of membership in the Mennonite Brethren Church played a critical role in creating the unity required for the immigrant church to survive in the New World.

Less than half of the forty thousand Mennonite immigrants anticipated actually arrived in North America. The more culturally progressive Mennonites, approximately two-thirds of the total number, remained in Russia to protect their considerable vested interests. The farms of those intent upon departure were

sacrificed for a fraction of their value because of restrictions imposed by Russia to discourage emigration. Between 1874 and 1884, 10,000 Mennonites came to the United States and 8,000 immigrated to Canada.

The more conservative Mennonites, those who lived in Chortitza, migrated to Canada because they were promised complete exemption from all compulsory military service by the Canadian government. This conservative group of 8,000 first settled in the Red River Valley of Manitoba. No Mennonite Brethren came into that area until after 1880. The moderately conservative group came from the Molotschna Colony and settled in the United States. "They were a part of the larger movement of approximately ten thousand Mennonites who exchanged the Russian steppes for the American plains in the decade following 1873."[38]

There was never any question within the Mennonite Brethren community but that the Russian colony would remain relatively intact in the New World.

> A Christian family should never go to settle where there is not a sure prospect of immediately organizing a church. The Brethren should also go together in sufficient numbers to do this. It takes a very strong and well experienced Christian to venture among the worldly minded, where the true worship of God is neglected and yet remain strong and steadfast in the faith."[39]

This quotation from the *Herald of Truth,* the only Mennonite newspaper published in the United States, reflects the Biblical admonition "to be in the world but not of the world." It also gives insight into the daily tension which existed in the minds and hearts of Mennonites who attempted to discern the true meaning of this paradox.

Carl and Marie Gloeckler's family added four children in the first five years of marriage. Mary, David, Jake, and Helena were born in rapid succession between 1880 and 1884. Sometime following Helena's birth in April 1884, the Gloeckler and the Wiens families emigrated from Minnesota to Kansas. No family writings are available to reveal the reasons for the move but a couple of factors may be

considered. The hub of Mennonite Brethren activity in the United States was found in Kansas. Kansas attracted the largest number of settlers, with neighboring Nebraska as second choice. Second, through the annual Conference activity, it is quite likely that the glowing tales of agricultural success in Kansas received a wide audience.

After ten years in Minnesota, some settlers found prospects brighter in Kansas. *Parsons' Memorial and Historical Library* magazine reported in January 1885, "from Minnesota. . . they, too, are beginning to fold their tents to silently steal away from the chill, chill forests of the North to the sunny prairies of Kansas."[40] It is not known if the Gloeckler experience paralleled that of another Brethren member who expressed his intention to emigrate to Kansas because after nine years in Dakota he "made much experience, which makes wise, but not rich."[41]

There is distinct irony in the peace-loving Brethren settling in such large numbers in a place described as "bleeding Kansas" when the state entered the union in 1861. On the eve of the Civil War, blood was shed in Kansas by factions disputing whether the state would enter the Union as "free" or "slave." One of the conditions of Mennonite settlement was an exemption from military service. The agreement was signed on March 19, 1874, and remained in effect until 1916.

The Homestead Act, passed in 1862, initiated the American "land rush." This legislation represented the government's effort to develop unappropriated western lands by promoting settlement. Any citizen or alien who had filed his declaration of intention to become a citizen, who was twenty-one or the head of a family, could acquire ownership of 160 acres without cost by residing on the land and cultivating it for a period five years. A quarter of a billion acres of land was distributed under the Homestead Act and its amendments.[42]

Mennonite poet Elmer Suderman wrote about the Mennonite immigration in his collection, *What Can We Do Here?*

KANSAS, 1874

A wind from Russia
carries rumors of the coming
of the Mennonites.
The wind blows the Nederland, Teutonia,
Abbottsford, Vaderland, Cimbria
carrying Balzers, Unruhs, Unraus, Friesens,
Schellenbergs, Sudermans, Voths, Riesens,
Schroeders, Reimers, Edigers, Hieberts,
Richerts, Wiebes, Penners, Ewerts
from Alexanderwohl, Bergthal, Hoffungsau.
Brutherthal, Johansthal, Gnadenau
to Gossel, Buhler, Marion, Walton,
Hillsboro, Inman, Peabody, Newton:
from the Steppes to the Prairies.

History blows through these names,
memories and music.

Not all of the Gloeckler and the Wiens families moved to Kansas in the mid 1880s. When the Gloeckler family moved into Canada in 1899, photographs reveal they made a detour enroute to visit cousins in Mountain Lake. The decision to move south would have been thoughtfully considered by great-grandparents. Carl (75), Ernestine (71), Jacob Wiens (63), and Susanna, age unknown, all of whom accompanied Carl and Marie. The projected journey was about 400 miles south, southwest. The move itself would not have been unusual; old and young were always on the move. As long as everyone remained together at journey's end, the effort was rewarded.

The traveler risked exposure to dangers more insidious than the Indian raids of earlier years. John F. Funk, editor of the Mennonite newspaper in Indiana, expressed "concern for those moving out from among good influences . . . to settle themselves in the rough, wild country of the west . . . among unbelievers and infidels,

Sabbath-breakers and swearers . . . exposed to the poisonous atmosphere of sin and crime."

Funk continued:

> People in making these changes often look too much upon outward, perishable and temporal things, forgetting altogether those more important and necessary things which relate to our eternal welfare. . . . We always feel sorry when we see brethren move away alone. . . . Our people should try and hold more together, be more united; more jealous of their church; try to help each other more, and take a deeper interest in the church.[43]

The move to Gorden, Kansas, occurred between the births of Helena (April 11, 1884) in Mountain Lake and of Jakob (March 24, 1886) in Gorden, Harvey County, Kansas. The stay in Gordon was brief. By the time the sixth child, Ernestine, was born (January 24, 1888), the Gloecklers acquired permanent farmland in Moundridge, presently located on the boundary of Harvey and McPherson counties. Four more children were born during the next ten years: Susanna (1890), John (1892), Martha (1894), and Ella (1898).

By arrangement with the Sante Fe Railroad, the large Mennonite population in Kansas settled predominantly in Harvey, Marion, McPherson and Reno counties. By the 1880's they cultivated 300,000 acres of wheat. The Mennonite contribution to Kansas wheat production, credited to Bernard Warkentine, lay in shifting harvest time from the traditional fall season to early summer. Mennonite farmers carried the seed for Turkey Red, a winter wheat, out of Russia in gallon jugs packed with clothing and household goods. The change from soft to hard grain revolutionized the state's economy, and earned Kansas international recognition as the "Wheat State."

Mennonite poet Suderman captures the transition.[44]

WAVING FIELDS OF RED TURKEY WHEAT

The moon pushes away windswept
tattered clouds shining on fifty miles
of buffalo grass stretching from
the Cottonwood to the Little Arkansas river.
The black-hatted Mennonite elder,
up before the sun,
absorbs the silence of the centuries,
seems to smell wheat blown in the wind
from the Ukraine, looks into endlessness,
nearly smiles, and thinks:
"In three years that ocean of grass
will be an ocean of waving fields
of Red Turkey Wheat like
those we left in the Molotschna."

The visual effect of this agricultural artistry is described by a *Scribner's Monthly* reporter with equal eloquence in narrative form.

> Standing in June upon a spot of elevated prairie near Abilene, for instance, you can view a tawny zone of waving, swaying wheat, five miles in breadth and over thirty miles long, with the Kansas River running midway through it (more like a shadow than a reality) and the incalculable uplands rising from it on either side, and falling away in gentle swells and curves to the distant horizon. The immensity of it, the strange billowy motion, the sorcery of color which designates the various stages or ripening, go the making of a scene not easily forgotten.[45]

Most of the government land had already been homesteaded when the Mennonite Brethren arrived in 1874. Two years earlier, upon completion of the Atchison, Topeka and Sante Fe Railway from Atchison to the Colorado state line, three million acres of railway lands became available for sale and "colonization." The Sante Fe Railroad had land for ten miles on either side of the track in alternating sections. There was considerable competition between the two great railroads, the Kansas Pacific and the Atchison, Topeka and Sante Fe, to promote settlement. A journalist commented: "the Santa Fe line captured the larger and better class, the Mennonites."[46] Mennonites did not object to purchasing land because of a concern that if they accepted free land, they might be expected to serve in the armed forces.[47]

As the Mennonites transformed the Russian Ukraine in the first half of the nineteenth century, so they transformed Kansas in the second half. One-seventh of the state was under cultivation by 1880. A reporter with the *Atchison Champion* observed the secret of Mennonite success was: "They plow the dew under in the morning and do not stop plowing till the dew falls at evening." Hard work and Providence combined to make Kansas the top wheat producing state in the nation by 1878. The crop exceeded thirty million bushels.[48]

In the 1880s the Mennonite villages established in Kansas were very similar to those in the Russian colonies. They offered "all the benefits of society without sacrificing any of the utilities of life in the country." *Scribner's Monthly* provided its readers an eye-witness description of a typical village. The contrast between the Mennonite and the American lifestyle on the prairie was duly noted. One epitomized an "adjoining" interdependence; the other an "aloof and separate" independence. The Mennonite village did not survive in future decades; the second generation of Mennonites adapted to the American lifestyle.

> The Mennonite village is simply a single long, straight street, with houses on one side of it, twenty to sixty rods apart, and farms radiating from it in all directions; instead of twenty families (or more as it may happen) who own twenty adjoining subdivisions of land living upon twenty aloof and separate estates, they establish their homes in a cluster at the center of the entire tract, where they have also a church, a school house, a post office, a blacksmith's shop, and sometimes a store and a grain warehouse. The buildings are as a rule of almost uniform size and appearance. . . . Each dwelling [house] has its liberal front yard facing the street, encircled by young trees, and filled with primeval and flashy flowers.[49]

When great grandfathers Carl Gloeckler and Jacob Wiens traveled around Harvey County, they may have felt gratified that the decision to immigrate was a wise one. Freedom of religious expression, agricultural success, and the satisfaction of seeing their children's children flourish in a new land may have compensated for any regrets in leaving Molotschna. Carl died January 20, 1889, in Halstead, Kansas.

Ernestine probably lived with son Carl's family; she did so in Canada in 1899. Jacob Wiens died in 1887 in nearby Lehigh, Kansas. Susanna, Jacob's third wife, remained in Kansas with her son, Peter. Her stepchildren, Susannah and John Wiens, moved to Oklahoma.

ALMA'S MATERNAL GRANDPARENTS ARRIVE IN CANADA - 1888

On November l, 1888, just months before Carl Gloeckler died, Alma's maternal grandparents, Isbrand and Agatha Peters, immigrated from Chortitza colony to Gretna, Manitoba, Canada. The Peters children included Frank (7), Jake (5), and Alma's mother, Margaretha (3). Alma believes that Isbrand's three brothers, Peter, Wilhelm, and David, arrived in Canada about the same time.[50] Isbrand's parents, Mary Reddekop Peters and Franz Peters, died in Russia. The eldest of Isbrand's brothers, Franz, was among the wealthy Mennonites in Russia. Alma remembered hearing family stories about Franz that expressed great concern for the temptations he encountered trying to balance his spiritual and material well-being. Leaving Russia would have meant great financial losses for Franz; he chose to remain.

Gretna, Manitoba, located in the lush Red River Valley of the North, sits on the international boundary between North Dakota and Manitoba. The Red River flows northward, forming the boundary between North Dakota and Minnesota. The Mennonite Brethren communities that developed in the Province were considered "daughter colonies" of the Minnesota Church, a part of the mission work of the church. A small church of sixteen members under the guidance of Heinrich Voth formed the nucleus of the first Canadian Mennonite Brethren Church in Winkler. The church was founded in 1888, the year the Peters family arrived. A commemorative marker near the site includes Isbrand Peters as one of forty-five

charter members of this first church.

Isbrand's uncle, David Peters, was already established in Winkler, Manitoba, in 1888. There is a likelihood of other kin in Manitoba when the family arrived but data at present is insufficient to make the claim with absolute certainty.[50] Gerhard Wiebe, an ordained minister, came from Russia to assist Voth in April 1888, six months before Grandpa Peters arrived. It is not known if Reverend Wiebe was kin to Agatha Wiebe Peters. Almost upon arrival, Isbrand became active in the new community. Together with his uncle and brothers, Isbrand opened a milling operation in Gretna. Within two years Grandpa Peters developed an allergy that affected his eyes and necessitated sale of the mill.

The Peters' decision to sell the mill and move to Oregon may have been influenced by the fact that Elder Voth, from Winkler, was leaving Canada to organize a congregation in central Oregon in 1891. Mennonite historian, J.B. Toews, comments on the expansion of the M.B. Church into new areas. He credits "more attractive economic prospects on the constantly expanding frontier" as the impetus to leave the settlements.[51] These migrations were not an organized effort to establish daughter colonies as had been the practice in Russia. Rather this was an independent endeavor to explore possibilities in an area attractive only to the pioneer.

Toews' explanation would appear to be at odds with the notion explained earlier of settling only in a community of believers. However, it may serve to illustrate the latitude for individual behavior within the belief system. Mennonite Brethren believe in personal autonomy; this is supported by Menno Simon's insistence on freedom of conscience.[52] Alma observed that it was essential for the individual to develop a personal sense of self because of the natural tension that

exists between the individual and the group. Mennonite community life was not conformity; it was developing the ability to compromise with a sister/brother for the well-being of all. In order to compromise, it was necessary to first recognize your own feelings, opinions, and experiences relating to the issue.

Grandma and Grandpa Peters moved to Salt Creek, Oregon, near Dallas in the Williamette Valley, on March l, 1891. Uncle David and Isbrand's brother, Peter Peters, remained in Canada. Isbrand's brothers, David and Wilhelm, accompanied Isbrand and Agatha and their four children, Frank, Jake, Maggie, and Peter, born in Gretna. With the earnings from the sale of the flour mill, Grandpa Peters purchased land and began farming. An attempt to establish a congregation in 1891 in Dallas under the leadership of Elder Voth was unsuccessful.[53] The community was very small to begin with and was unable to sustain itself when some families moved away. The few Baptists in the area outnumbered the even smaller group of Mennonites and the decision was made to worship together.

A commemorative booklet celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Salt Creek Baptist Church registered the conversion of Alma's mother, Margaretha Peters, on June 21, 1896.[54] Following the Baptismal ceremony twelve believers voted to unite and organize a Baptist Church. Isbrand Peters, Alma's maternal grandfather, donated five acres of land and in December 1897 the Salt Creek Baptist Church was dedicated. Alma's personal writings indicate that land for the cemetery was also her grandfather's gift. In fact, her mother's family lived on the land before returning to Canada in 1899. Maggie Peters Gloeckler attended the 70th anniversary of the church in 1966. She was the only charter member present.

Maggie had good memories of Salt Creek, perhaps because these were the most stable years of her young life. The small town is near Dallas in Polk County in

the middle of the state. The county was not quite fifty years old when the Peters arrived. The town of was named for a creek of the same name that rises in the foothills north of Dallas. Maggie was about five years old when the family arrived in town and fourteen when they left in 1899.

Agatha Peters wanted a house large enough to accommodate visitors. Hospitality was a highly prized virtue among Brethren families.[55] One of the houses where the Peters lived in Salt Creek was named the Campbell house; another was the Buhler house. Following Voth's departure, Missionary Peter Wedel and his wife visited the few Brethren in the area in 1895. Maggie remembered the Wedels' visit. Afterwards, when she met David Gloeckler, he told her about listening to Peter Wedel's inspirational sermons both in Minnesota and later in Kansas. The network connecting members of the Mennonite Brethren Church bears testimony to the strength of its institutions and the breadth of kinship ties.

An anniversary publication on the history of Polk County noted that the first settlers in the area relied upon wheat as a staple crop.[56] Later wheat was replaced by seed crops and fruit crops. In Oregon, Isbrand farmed and the children attended Salt Creek school. Three more children were born into the Peters family: Susanne, Tena, and John. The winter of 1898 was one of the coldest on record and the following summer Polk County produced the best grain crop in a great many years. Following this bountiful harvest, Isbrand, Agatha and their seven children returned to Canada attracted by rumors of free land and the opportunity to rejoin kinfolk.

The family settled near Laird, 500 miles west of Gretna, in what came to be called the Province of Saskatchewan. David Peters and his family remained in Oregon. Some family members are buried in the Salt Creek Cemetery on the land that Isbrand donated following Maggie's baptism.

CHAPTER TWO

SASKATCHEWAN, 1899-1921

When the Gloeckler and Peters families decided to move to Saskatchewan, Canada, in the last year of the nineteenth century, they were among the avant-garde of "the greatest rush for farm lands in the world's history."[1] In 1901, before Saskatchewan became a Province, while it was still part of the Northwest Territory, its population, including Native Americans, was 91,279. During the two decades the Gloecklers lived in the province, the population soared to 757,510 (1921).

Spreading westward from the Red River Colony in Manitoba Province (the pioneer agricultural settlement in Western Canada), European and American immigrants invaded Saskatchewan. These wheat-growing farmers created a path "starting at the international boundary at the southeastern corner of the province and extending in a northwesterly direction to the point where the Saskatchewan river crosses its western boundary."[2] As the crow flies, this is a distance of nearly five hundred miles, about two hundred miles in width at its midsection. When Alma talked about the land she said, "the vastness of the prairie lent itself to a sense of space . . . . There was that sense of the vastness and the smallness of us as human beings."[3]

Saskatchewan, a Cree word for "swiftly flowing," was used to describe the powerful Saskatchewan River, with North and South branches, which crossed the southern prairies and then turned north near Saskatoon in the center of the province. Geographically, the prairies are Saskatchewan's foremost feature. The prairies are among the most productive agricultural land in the world. The finest farmland is found in the southern two thirds of the province, the Interior Plains. Alma's family established a homestead in the Second Prairie Level of the Interior

Plains, which averages between 1200 and 1600 feet elevation.

The prairies experienced dramatic differences in temperature between day and night, and between winter and summer. Seasons changed rapidly. In late March blooming crocuses and melting snow stood side by side. Personal chronicles of early homesteaders record winter temperatures forty degrees below zero, and hot summers where pioneers struggled against hordes of grasshoppers, flies and mosquitoes. Coyotes, gophers and jack rabbits remained after the last of the buffalo disappeared from the prairies in the early 1880s. Canadian geese and a wide variety of migratory ducks, such as mallard, teal, canvasback, and pintail filled the autumn skies.

The vast herds of buffalo that roamed these prairies left behind a network of trails which the Indians used as travel routes. European settlers coming onto the land made these trails into the first prairie roads. In Canada as in the United States, settlers moved onto lands traditionally claimed by Indian nations, the Cree and Assiniboines. The Indian Northwest Rebellion of 1885 was an armed conflict in which the Native Americans were defeated and forced to cede their rights to the public domain in southern Saskatchewan. No further warfare occured between the Indians and the settlers after 1885.

In the late 1880s, the Canadian Pacific Railway began service into the Northwest Territories. A second transcontinental railway, the Canadian Northern Railway, appeared in 1891. The railroads alone would have hastened settlement of the Northwest Territories; however, there is no doubt that the Canadian government's offer of free homesteading land was the catalyst for the "land rush." The Dominion Lands Act decreed "any person who is the head of a family or has attained the age of 21 years, shall be entitled to be entered for one quarter section

(160 acres) or a less quantity of unappropriated Dominion Lands for the purpose of securing a homestead right."[4]

The Dominions Land Act was passed a decade after the American Homestead Act. Initial efforts at settlement in Canada were directed toward Manitoba, specifically the Red River Valley. In 1870, when the province of Manitoba was created, the Northwest Territories (four divisions which were later reduced to two provinces, Saskatchewan and Alberta) were not open to colonization. The land survey which of necessity preceded homesteading was not completed until the turn of the century. However, the inevitability of western settlement with the inauguration of the transcontinental railroad created an anticipation of free land in Canada in the 1890s.

The choice farmlands for homesteading in the American West had disappeared by 1880. Some farmers in the United States and Europe responded to rumors of free land in Canada even before Saskatchewan became a Province in 1905. Alma's Grandpa Gloeckler and Grandpa Peters, unknown to one another in the States, were among the Mennonite Brethren who heard opportunity knocking across the border. Both men had large families and, as was the Mennonite custom, fathers wanted to help their sons become established on their own land.

In the spring of 1899 Carl Gloeckler and his family moved north into the heart of the Mennonite Brethren settlement in Rosthern, Saskatchewan. The area on both sides of the North Saskatchewan River was considered mission territory for both the Kansas and the Manitoba churches. The move reunited family members separated years earlier by the move from Mountain Lake, Minnesota, to Kansas in the mid-1880s. In 1898, Reverend Jacob Wiens, brother to Carl's wife, Marie, had moved from Manitoba with a group of sixty to establish a new church in Laird.

Among those traveling with Jacob Wiens were some Peters kin, including Alma's grandfather Isbrand's brother, Peter. When Grandpa Peters arrived one year later, he located his family near his brother, Peter, and not far from Reverend Wiens.

Carl Gloeckler's father had died during the Kansas sojourn; however, Carl's mother, Ernestine, now age 84, accompanied Carl and Marie and their family of ten children on the move. After years of many miles between them, Ernestine would now have an opportunity to live near her son, Jacob. For a few years the Gloeckler family settled in Eigenheim, a tiny community located in the general vicinity of Laird. When a business venture in nearby Rosthern failed, the family settled into farm life in a roomy three-story home in Bruderfeldt. All three communities mentioned are located on the east side of the North Saskatchewan River, approximately forty miles northeast of Saskatoon.

David Gloeckler celebrated his twenty-first birthday in 1903. Grandpa Gloeckler urged both David and Jacob, age seventeen, to travel west across the North Saskatchewan River and scout out possible sites for homesteading. Many months were spent going back and forth across the river seeking good land. The west side of the North Saskatchewan river is very rocky, good for grazing but not for farming. However, further west in the Borden district is "an area, one of the most beautiful on the prairie--a wide expanse of fine farm land, bordered on the south and east by the valley of the North Saskatchewan."[5]

The town of Borden sits on the tip of "The Elbow" where the North Saskatchewan River makes an acute change of direction from south-easterly to almost due north. Indians used the bend in the river as a place to herd buffalo for slaughter. Residents of the area believe that a primitive trading post existed there in the nineteenth century. However, there was virtually no organized activity in the

area when David and his brother, Jacob, were scouting for homesteads. Not until 1905, when the Canadian Northern Railway pushed through to Borden from Saskatoon on the way to Edmonton, Alberta, did any semblance of town life begin.

It is believed that one year earlier, in 1904, Dave and Jacob Gloeckler claimed adjoining homesteads in Great Deer, about twelve miles north of Borden. According to local histories, a few pioneers began arriving in Borden in 1903 but most came in June 1905 with the railroad. Within a short time grain elevators were built. Two general stores opened, easing the arduous journey to Radisson twenty miles distant. A blacksmith arrived. Schools and churches were soon to follow. But, as in many homesteading communities, skilled medical assistance remained at a critical distance. This had tragic consequences for many families, including the Gloecklers.

On the east side of the North Saskatchewan River a cluster of small communities, including Laird, Waldheim, Hepburn, Bruderfeldt, and Eigenheim, are all neighbors to the somewhat larger town of Rosthern. Mennonite Brethren coming into Saskatchewan often settled in this area with their kin before making any permanent decisions about the future. The Mennonite Brethren church, the first in Saskatchewan (also known as the Ebenfeld M.B. Church), remained under the leadership of Jacob B. Wiens, maternal uncle to David Gloeckler.

THE GLOECKLER AND PETERS FAMILIES MEET - 1899

The Gloeckler and Peters families met for the first time in the fall of 1899 at the Mennonite Brethren Church in Laird. They came to know one another in church activities and amid the shared stresses and hardships of pioneer life. "Periodic droughts, long and severe winters and a widely scattered membership

combined to test the faith and perseverance of the early settlers."[6] Music and fellowship, hallmarks of the Mennonite Brethren Church, provided sustenance for these pioneer spirits. As he did in Mountain Lake, Minnesota, Carl Gloeckler led a choir of young people that included his son, David, and young Maggie Peters, aged fifteen.

Maggie's mother, Agatha Wiebe, was a dreamy sort of person. Maggie remembered her mother as a sweet, gentle woman who often seemed in a world of her own. Agatha's life had not been easy. She was the middle child in a family of nine; her mother died when Agatha was eleven years of age. Married at twenty-one, Agatha bore seven children during twenty-one years of marriage. When she left Russia at age twenty-eight with her husband and three children, the Peters home in Neuendorf was sold to her brother, Peter Wiebe. Agatha left her beloved sisters behind, never to see them again.

The Peters settled briefly in Gretna, Manitoba, where a son, Peter, was born. Two years later when Agatha was pregnant with Susanne they undertook the thirteen-hundred-mile journey from Gretna to Salt Creek, Oregon. Two more children, Tena and John, were born during the years in Oregon. When the youngest, John, was eighteen months old, the family moved again. Isbrand bought land two miles north of Eigenheim church, near Laird, in September 1899.

Following their return to Canada, Agatha became ill. During her illness, their new friends, the Gloeckler family, helped out when possible. Mary Gloeckler, oldest daughter of Carl and Marie, was often at the Peters's home to help in caring for Agatha. Mary supported the family and acted as an older sister to Maggie. John, the youngest child, stayed by his mother's side day and night as if anticipating a separation. Agatha, age forty-one, died of unknown causes in April 1901, one

week before her daughter Maggie's sixteenth birthday.

Maggie's last years of schooling were in Oregon. Once relocated in Saskatchewan, her youthful energies went into helping settle the new household. Following her mother's death, Maggie, as the oldest girl in the family, kept house for Isbrand, her two older brothers and the four younger children. The work was unending and the responsibility for maintaining harmony among siblings was taxing. The joy of life was found singing in the choir and socializing with the young people in the Mennonite Brethren congregation.

Isbrand Peters, Maggie's father, surprised the family when he announced his intention to move to Winkler, Manitoba, for the purpose of remarrying in December 1901. Maggie was to continue maintaining the farm near Eigenheim with the five oldest children. Isbrand took the two youngest, Tena and John, with him. Isbrand's new wife was a widow with six young children, the three youngest of whom were girls. Isbrand's reasons for leaving his own ten-year-old daughter, Sue, behind with the older sons is unknown. Because of her own youth, Maggie was unable to be a mother to Sue. Based on family stories, both of the girls missed their mother all of their lives. Alma wrote poetry about the sadness that her mother felt.

CRYSTALS

White crystals on the window-pane
covering the view of the out-of-doors.
What strange and wonderful design
in myriads and myriads of variation
so small. . . so precise
so definitely, exquisitely patterned:
A world within a world
a deep and profound mystery
of shapes, visions, dream;
and dreams closing out the reality
of the white, cold
out of doors.
While Mother talks to me

of some deep sadness; that pattern
etches, then shapes itself
among those crystals.

When Maggie was about nineteen years old, she left home for a while to learn dressmaking skills. Sue was sent to live with cousin Susie Peters McKay near Winkler. It is not known if Maggie received her training in Saskatoon or near her father's home in Winkler, Manitoba. In any event, this was Maggie's time to be apart from her immediate family and to experience some measure of her own autonomy. The training in haberdashery received during this time stood her in good stead. Maggie was more than a seamstress; rather, she was a tailor who designed her own patterns and sewed whatever was needed, a hat, a shirt, a dress.

Once back into the routine of farm life, Maggie Peters's friendship with David "developed. . . into a romance which culminated in marriage on March 24, 1905." As Dave tells the story, he proposed because "he thought he could do better by her than her brothers."[7] Alma remembers stories told about how her father thought Maggie's brothers did not appreciate her as much as he did. Maggie agreed. Anticipating marriage, David had worked hard during the time Maggie was away. By the time they married, he claimed his homestead of 160 acres. He built a shanty, 12'x 20', and a Mennonite design folding sleep bench for his bride. Maggie was almost twenty years old; David was twenty-two.

> MAGGIE: Those times were different from now. The day following their wedding, the young couple loaded their material belongings, furniture and all, such as it was into a lumber wagon and the following morning they started out accompanied by members of both families to see them safely across the North Saskatchewan River on ice, eighteen miles away.

Once they were safely across the icy river, the journey continued twelve miles across the prairie. The day was cold, the ground was still frozen, but the sun was shining as they drove on to their new home.

> Thus we began our home life, on our homestead, in a new settlement, just one year old, on rich virgin soil, where never a plow had drawn a furrow through all the ages, and where buffalo heads and horns were hidden in the prairie grasses.[8]

HOMESTEADING

The heads and horns were not the only visible evidence of buffalo to be found on the Gloeckler homestead. David and Maggie were more fortunate than many homesteaders; they had two small lakes on their land in 1905. Between these two watering holes, deeply worn paths gave eloquent testimony to the presence of the awesome buffalo that had vanished from the prairies.

The railway that came to town that year provided work for the new settlers. Building a bridge to cross the North Saskatchewan required at least half a mile of wooden trestle work. Farmers soon became adept at piling railway ties, laying them out, putting down sections of steel rails and driving the spikes. The job entailed hard work with long hours but cash pay saved religiously enabled farmers to buy supplies for the coming winter.[9]

It was possible to cross the river between the spring thaw and the winter freeze on the Henrietta Ferry, which had been in operation since 1903. Later came the Petrofka Ferry, "a large raft like vessel with cables to guide and the river current to propel it to the west side of the river."[10] The ferry is featured in many of the memoirs of the early settlers, which would seem to indicate the importance of being able to travel east to the more established town of Rosthern or south to Saskatoon.

The wooden shanty that Dave Gloeckler built was one option chosen for housing. Other people built sod houses. "The sod was cut with a spade in one foot squares and up came the sod house with a dirt floor and poplar poles for rafters, and sods and some clay for the roof."[11] Dirt was banked against the walls of the house

to keep it warm in winter. Sealing the roof adequately to avoid leaks was a real challenge. The sod house was always a temporary measure until the farmer could afford a log building.

The preparation of one homesteader to till the required ten acres of land illustrates the general experience of many.

> He did manage to take up a homestead, although it was 12 miles from home and not very good soil. He would hitch his oxen to the wagon, load up the single-share handle plough, take enough food along to last a week, and travel out there. He took the wagon box off of its wheels, turned it upside down on the ground and those were his sleeping quarters.[12]

The drama of life on the prairie included fires. As the farmers began to break the land, years and years of hay had accumulated at ground level and new grass grew up through that woolly cushion every spring. When fire broke out, it moved rapidly across the sun dried prairie. Such a fire on a homestead neighboring the Gloecklers threatened the lives of four sleeping children. Fortunately, the fire died when it reached the slough, but not before creating a memorable sight, "fire burning across the top of the water."[13] The children's mother suffered a heart attack as a result of the trauma. Maggie Gloeckler, two miles distant, was summoned to act as a translator before the doctor arrived. The children's mother recovered temporarily but died within two years of heart failure.

If women made it through the child-bearing years, many lived long lives. However, many women's lives were shortened by deprivation, loneliness, and physical labor. Records at the Mennonite Brethren Churchyard (fourteen miles northeast of Borden) show women and children comprised twenty-five out of thirty-seven deaths between 1903 and 1921. Contributions made by women pioneers in Saskatchewan receive no particular recognition from Mennonite Brethren historians chronicling this era. Local histories, though, show more awareness:

> A great deal of credit is due to the wives, sisters and mothers of the early settlers. In many cases they had come from cities in warmer climates to a strange and unsettled land, with no comforts and no money to buy them, but they stuck it out and made life more pleasant for their loved ones.[14]

From the start David and Maggie Gloeckler were active participants in this new community. Maggie was one of the first brides to settle in Great Deer and Alma, born on March 21, 1906, was the first baby born into the community. (When it was time for Alma to be born, Maggie and David went across the river to the home of Aunt Tena and Uncle Henry Reiger in Rosthern.) Meetings to organize the Mennonite Brethren church began in April of 1906; services were first held in the home. Maggie fondly remembered the first minister, David Klaussen, as "a true shepherd of the flock." Construction of the church started as soon as the 1907 crop had been seeded. The congregation was formed mostly by young couples eager to invest their time and energy by making a permanent contribution to their new community.

Later, when Alma questioned Maggie about those days, "she talked as though it was a great time. She had very pleasant memories because it was new. There was everything to do with the challenge that was there. They were healthy. They had a purpose. They had land."[15] They also had a good sense of timing. As early as 1908 land of any value was becoming scarce and by 1914 there was little left.

Land for both the church and the cemetery was donated by Elder David Dyck in October 1906. Elder Dyck was a good example of the itinerant Mennonite Brethren minister who was always on the move, providing leadership and inspiration to the immigrant church. Dyck settled first in Kansas, traveled to Minnesota, settled in Colorado for a while, a few years later accepted church leadership in Saskatchewan, and was homesteading in Borden at the time the church was

proposed.

Other ministers traveling to Saskatchewan included missionaries Peter Wedel and Heinrich Voth. The Peters family would have known both men from visits made by them to Manitoba and to Oregon. The Gloecklers knew Wedel and Voth from Minnesota and Kansas. Men of this stature, always willing to take the message of God's love to their distant brethren, were greatly admired and appreciated by the congregation. They represented an essential common bond among the scattered Mennonite Brethren of North America.

David Gloeckler began working with the young people in Christian Endeavor, emulating his father's example twenty years earlier in Mountain Lake, Minnesota. Christian Endeavor provided opportunities for young people to use their musical talents and to develop skills in leadership and public speaking. Maggie Gloeckler joined with the wife of minister David Klassen as the first responsible people in providing hospitality to the neighboring Mennonite Brethren Churches from across the river. Volunteers were required to keep a good supply of water on hand, to keep enough water hot and to make the coffee.

The first school in the district, opened in 1906, was the Hoffnungsfeld School --Field of Hope. Headmaster until 1910 was Mr. William Diefenbaker. This little one-room schoolhouse later received attention when Diefenbaker's son, Mr. John George Diefenbaker, became Canadian Prime Minister. A story is told that young John, who was teaching on a temporary permit in 1909, was out shooting gophers with his students when the school inspector arrived.[16] John's permit was not renewed!

A petition for a large tract of land to establish a school about a mile and a half from the Gloeckler farm was denied in the summer of 1905. In the spring of

the following year, the petition was approved for a smaller tract and Clear Spring School District came into being. Bill Newsham, the Gloecklers' neighbor, suggested the school's name. His inspiration came from the exceptionally clear water fed by a spring in the area. The school was one room with twenty children between the ages of five and sixteen and forty-one children below the age of five. A second room was added to the school house in 1924 to accommodate high school students. Prior to 1924, high school students from the district attended school in Rosthern and lived away from home.

The fact that "Clear Spring" proved to be an acceptable name for the new school district indicates the extent to which water was a valued commodity. For homesteaders an adequate supply of water meant survival. During the years the Gloeckler family lived in Great Dear, from 1905 until 1921, water became of increasing concern. Ecologically, the intensive farming effort in Borden brought a change in climate to the region. With increased agricultural production and the elimination of trees from the countryside, the atmosphere lost moisture. Rain clouds, once not infrequent, by 1921 were to be celebrated. Water held by the soil evaporated when it was plowed and planted.

Drilling new wells to accommodate the ever-growing number of farmers affected the water table. The Gloecklers were fortunate in this regard: "Water was at first hauled in two barrels from the pump by the lower lake, near the cattle trough. Then a second well was dug, a pump put in, near the house. Now the water was carried in buckets into the house. At last a cistern was lowered into the cellar, welded and used to catch the rain-water and to receive the melting snows. A kitchen pump on the drain-board brought the water up from the cistern."[17]

By the time the kitchen pump was in place, big changes had been made on

the property. A large three-bedroom house with second story and basement was built in 1913. A family room was added in 1915. The original shanty was left standing as a chicken house. The changes were necessitated by a growing family and made possible by good fortune on the land. Alma Marie was only twenty months old when her sister, Myrtle, was born. As a little girl, Alma was caught between the love she felt for this dear little newcomer and a worry that her father preferred Myrtle's blonde coloring to her own darker looks. Myrtle was not quite three when sister Frances was born. The three little girls grew up together helping Mother in the house, playing "house" outside, teasing each other, singing and always busy, busy, busy. Alma's memories of these years are vividly recalled in her poetry.

CELLAR HOLES

The cellar holes
were good places to play in
to sit in, to hide in.
They served as benches
and close snug quarters.
One was a good place to play at "house"
or "Mother and baby."
It was the place to decide
who would have the warm soft Teddy
and who would be the caller.
It was the place to play at church,
to giggle in,
and just to talk like grown-ups do.

MYRTLE, MY LITTLE PLAYMATE SISTER

And I see her coming
around the corner of the house.
A Teddy bear is in her arms.
It's time to play at "house"
So off to cellar hole we go
to make the sounds of play.
The babe in arms now crying
The Teddy bear well supplied
with sounds of cooing, wailing cries
As mothers ply their arts.

LITTLE SISTERS

Toddler, lively and dimpled
The merriest eyes
that a child could have
Quick to respond
So sure in her feelings
Child of the prairie
Sister of mine

Child of dreams
and private ways
Searching a truth
from the keyboard, there
Searching it patiently
reaching . . . intent
Searching and testing
till new worlds unfold
Strong new sounds
all bound by meaning
Truth of the keyboard
shaped to a feeling.

Little one there
waiting in the crib
now slumbering peacefully.
Little one there
in the warm dark room
How could you come so sure?
How could you know
the way to be
a pretty
little
girl?

The first terrible cost to the Gloeckler family exacted by pioneering life occurred with the death of their son, Edwin. Edwin died of unknown causes five days after his birth in 1912. Alma was six years old. Maggie's deepest sadness at the loss was that "she never knew him." The precious mystery of this child, now ever elusive in a premature death, heightened her awareness of how "unsearchable" were

the ways of God. In a belief system which celebrates the inviolability, the preciousness of each child, Maggie grieved deeply but accepted Edwin's death as God's will. When her next child, May, was born two years later, both Mother and child were very ill. This time, Maggie bargained with the Lord for the life of her newborn and her prayers were answered. Both recovered.

During the next five years the community became more established. The Great Deer Rural Telephone Company held a meeting in the Hoffnungsfeld School on March 17, 1913. Five members were chosen as a Board of Directors; Dave Gloeckler was appointed President.[18] The community shared "party lines" with five long rings for a general community message. Before the telephone was installed, messages were carried from one family to the next either on foot or on horseback.

The railway tracks were the nerve center of the community. "If you wanted to know the latest, you met the morning and evening trains."[19] Radio and newspapers kept those interested informed of local and international news. It seems reasonable that the war years must have caused anxiety for the Mennonite Brethren because many left family members behind in Russia. However, local histories discussing those early years make no mention of the conflict.

> ALMA: We knew some of our young men had gone to prison because they were conscientious objectors. . . . [Dan Berg] was a second cousin of ours. . . . He had been in prison because he had refused to participate in the draft. But it is amazing to me that we could have been absolutely oblivious of that war . . . .We wondered if it was as bad in the United States and we found out later both countries had been hard on conscientious objectors.[20]

The Canadian government had promised the Mennonite pacifists total exemption from serving in the armed service. As the war dragged on, public pressure demanded that limitations be placed on the Conscientious Objector status. Alma has two strong recollections of the war years. One was of her Dad carefully

reading the news when it came and then sharing the news by telephone with other neighbors on the party line. A map on the wall next to the telephone enabled David to follow the Allies' progress. Also remembered was the explanation given concerning the Aurora Borealis--the Northern Lights reflected the blood of battle in Europe.

One indication that Great Deer was becoming settled was the proliferation of churches: Quakers, Seventh Day Adventists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Bethel Mennonite in addition to the Mennonite Brethren. Mail was delivered with admirable regularity twice a week. Much mail-order business was conducted through Eaton and Simpson's catalog sales. Alma remembers that the family received black fur robes as a bonus for their business from Mr. Smith, a local shop proprietor. Motorcycles appeared on the roads of Borden first and it wasn't long before Uncle Jake bought one and took his nieces for a ride around Great Deer. A few automobiles appeared in 1914; by 1918 it was not unusual to see families out driving together on a Sunday.

The prosperity enjoyed by the wheat farmers enabled them to build up from sod houses to wooden houses. When more than one planned such an improvement, the farmers "pooled" their lumber orders to the benefit of all. In 1914, the first consumer cooperative came into being. Dave Gloeckler joined initially, but he became disenchanted with the lack of equity in the project and dropped out.

Alma wrote about the daily routine:

> The soil of the prairie provided both food and harvests of grain. Garden vegetables were used fresh as well as dried and or buried in dirt boxes in the cellar. Berries might also be prepared as preserves. The soil also brought forth grain harvests to be hauled by wagon-loads into town to the Borden grain elevators. Here staples of wheat flour, sugar, spices, dried fruits and barrels of apples were bought from Smith and McQuarry's.[21]

Farm animals included chickens, pigs, and cattle. The chickens were killed

and frozen in the late fall to be enjoyed during the winter months. Butchering pigs and beef provided an opportunity to join with other families in sausage making. Dairy products, such as milk, cream, butter, clabbermilk and cottage cheese, were enjoyed at every meal. "The chores of feeding, milking, separating, churning were a part of the educational activities of children growing up."[22] The chores in the barn also provided the opportunity for Alma to tell a tale.

MILKING TIME

It's milking time
and time to weave
the story of the day
and while the cow stands quietly
to yield her milk to us
a listener bold with eagerness
stands by to hear the tale.
Its telling is a fellowship
the listener, sister mine
and as the pail fills up with milk
two hearts have mellowed there.

The daily routine of farm work and school work was unrelenting. Alma remembers work, work, work. "Much work at home, the order of each day provided opportunities to learn to bake bread, to make early morning fires, to keep them going, to cook family meals, as well as to sew, mend, darn and to do embroidery."[23]

Education was carried on in the home, the church, the community and the public school. The Mennonite Brethren Church supported this comprehensive view of learning because the focus of all learning was an ever-growing awareness of the glory of God. One day in class at the Hoffnungsfeld school, Alma's teacher, Mr. Harder, called her to his desk. Mr. Harder took a special interest in all his students. On this day he asked Alma if she considered joining the church. Alma responded, "No." She hadn't given it much thought.

ALMA: Mr. Harder told me I should think about the fact that if I was alone, then I would be like a person who rows a boat in the deep blue sea. But if I was with the

> church, it would be as if I was on an ocean liner with other people and more safe. Well, that impressed me.[24]

A decision to join the Mennonite Brethren Church is generally an adult decision. The ceremony of Baptism is by immersion and is accompanied by a confession of faith. Maggie Peters Gloeckler was baptized at age ten (June 21, 1896) while the Peters family lived in Oregon. But David Gloeckler was not baptized until June 12, 1905, after he married. The baptism was performed by his uncle, Jacob Wiens, in the North Saskatchewan River. Maggie and David joined the Mennonite Brethren Church the first year they were married. Alma and Myrtle were baptized September 5, 1920.

As an idealistic young girl Alma wanted to be a missionary. There was much talk about missions both at home and at church. Missionary vision and concern was the rationale for Brethren immigration to the United States and Canada. A sustained effort to support the missions was essential because the endeavor was described as "incomplete unless it reaches people in darkness at the ends of earth."[25] David Gloeckler's second cousin, Dan Bergthold, and his wife were missionaries to India, the church's only foreign mission between 1899-1919.

Brother and Sister F. J. Wiens (later Myrtle Gloeckler's in-laws) visited Great Deer on their way to the South China mission in 1919. Images of the Bergtholds and the Wienses off doing God's work "at the ends of the earth" may have romanticized the activity for Alma. But when Alma mentioned the idea to her teacher, he subdued her enthusiasm by telling Alma that she could not become a missionary unless she was a teacher.

Memories of Sunday School for Alma during childhood centered on individuals who reinforced "the notion of the inviolability of the human person .... And I think that has made a difference. Because to violate another human being in

word or deed, was really something that one just didn't do, or was altogether unbiblical."[26] Another pioneer has similar memories. "Our school and church were an integral part of each and every one of us. Our Sunday worship services were a blessing to all who attended with good speakers, Sunday School teachers, choir and youth programs."[27]

MUSIC--MAKING A JOYFUL NOISE UNTO THE LORD

Music and choir programs are consistently mentioned in books of reminiscence celebrating various congregations' anniversaries. Some historical background on the origin of music in the worship service will give insight into the fervor of these testimonies.

The music created by the Mennonite Brethren in Russia in 1860 reflected the "revival spirit" of a new group seeking to recreate the feelings and belief system that had earlier enriched their lives. These new hymns became unique to the Mennonites; they used gospel language with lively rhythms, faster tempos. Musical instruments became an important part of the celebration. However, emotions which were both the cause and the result of the music immediately became suspect. "Excesses of ferment" cast a shadow over the movement. This concern was reflected in the admonition printed in the frontispiece of a small song book owned by Alma's grandmother, Agatha Wiebe. The song book was presented to Agatha when she joined the church at age ten (1869). The caution read, "One should enjoy singing the beautiful songs and be open to the spiritual nurture but be not too much enamored of their beauty alone."[28]

This fresh emphasis on the musical aspect of worship caused the sermons to be shortened. In its place, the congregation now alternately prayed and sang "in

order to bring a more lively and joyful spirit" to the service.[29] A new type of music that supported the new spirit expressed by the Mennonite Brethren served these community needs:

> 1) fostering a lively but meaningful spirit of worship (2) lending reverence and spiritual feeling to the service (3) undergirding the Biblical emphasis in terms of doctrine (4) assisting in the spiritual development of the believer (5) giving expression to Christian fellowship and joy (6) relating to all facets of the church and family life (7) promoting the missionary and evangelistic outreach of the church.[30]

Grandfather Carl Gloeckler led the young people's choir in Mountain Lake, Minnesota. All of his children were "musical," that is to say, the whole family sang and some played musical instruments. As Alma tells it, this was not unusual because an appreciation for the gift of music permeated the entire community. "There was never the idea that someone could not sing on pitch." Music was at the heart of every worship service: "All that has breath praise the Lord." Historically, the four-part singing which in its way is uniquely Mennonite began in the family, then found its way into schools and finally found expression in the choirs and congregations of the churches.

Alma grew up enjoying music. When she contributed to a local history Alma wrote: "Along with cleaning, washing and scrubbing work, there was time for learning to sight-read the one, two and three part song books that Mrs. Gloeckler had ordered. There was time to learn harmonizing by ear in two and three part songs."[31] Maggie also taught her daughters secular music purely for the musical experience. Homesteaders are by definition a rural people, far removed from the classical sounds associated with the music of western culture. The music Alma heard was a spontaneous singing, a part of daily life at home, at mealtime, at work, at eventide. There was singing at Bible studies, prayer meetings and worship services. Then there was recreational song when visiting with kin and brethren on a

Sunday afternoon. The music brought meaning and spirituality to all of life's activities.

The Saengerfestes (song festivals) which are part of Alma's story are as clear today in her memory as when she sat in awe and admiration listening to her five Gloeckler aunties' voices blend with the congregation. The festival in Borden in 1919 was an especially memorable event and is recorded in the memoirs of others in the Borden area. Song festivals would be anticipated all year long and when finally the congregations gathered for the two or three-day event, a large tent was required in order to accommodate the many who traveled for miles to socialize and celebrate their unity.

Along with the obvious spiritual ministry, music served a vital social function. An evening of music provided a reason to come together for young and old alike; it provided an opportunity to relax and enjoy a fellowship that renewed the spirit. Seen in this light, music was not entertainment but a life-sustaining necessity. Song was a delight that fed the souls of all who shared the hardships of life on the frontier.[32]

Carl Gloeckler was a self-taught choir director and song leader who served his church where ever he lived: Minnesota, Kansas, and Saskatchewan. In this role Carl was representative of the many gifted musicians whose selection of material was guided by Paul's words to the Colossians: "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord."

Following his father's example in Bruderfeldt, David Gloeckler led the choir in Great Deer. When the girls were old enough to talk, Maggie Gloeckler taught them to sing "rounds" and in two and three-part harmony. Alma and Myrtle learned

to play the organ before they entered their teens. By 1919 Alma played the organ for Peter Wiebe's choir. In the Gloeckler home the children never remembered a time without an organ or piano. Even later in Shafter, California, where they were "so poor," a piano was not considered a luxury in a family where everyone sang or played an instrument.

A strong emphasis on singing the praises of the Lord caused the Mennonite Brethren to have more than an average interest in the use of the voice. The prestige of the church choir was such that young people automatically sought to join. The choirs who sang the music accepted "a spiritual ministry having the edification of the saints as its aim and the glorification of God as its object."[33]

Music perceived as a value was passed along to Grandpa Gloeckler's children and his grandchildren. For Alma as a young girl singing in the choir, music became endowed with an esthetic quality. Always more than a solitary pleasure, never a performance, congregational singing or singing in a choir led to a keen awareness of how the many contributed to the splendor of the sound created. Such sound was not possible for one voice alone.

This sound was a natural expression of the mutual dependence in daily life. The intense realization that everyone had a part to play remained with Alma for a lifetime. As the choir was enhanced by each voice, so it was diminished by the absence of even one. Group singing requires a conformity and a necessary adherence to the musical score. Simultaneously, however, there is a diversity of vocal range--the soprano, the alto, the tenor, the bass--without which the musical expression is limited.

The notion of the inviolability of the individual that had its roots in New Testament Scriptures was continually reinforced by musical expression. To read

about the Christian philosophy of love in the Bible, to see it practiced daily in her home, and then to experience the exhilaration of singing Christ's message with friends and neighbors--all of these combined to create a truth for Alma. Harmony in life as in music is the complement of many unique talents.

LITTLE SCHOOLHOUSE ON THE PRAIRIE

At home the Gloecklers spoke low German, the dialect of the Mennonite Brethren Church. Both Maggie and Dave were also familiar with English. David was born in the United States and Maggie arrived in North America when she was three years old. Additionally, they were familiar with the high German of the Lutheran Bible; this was the language used in church and in the songs they sang. When Alma started school she had difficulty speaking English.

> ALMA: But there came a time when we went to school and it was only English. . . . sometime very early I suddenly felt very inadequate. It just was escaping me. So I remember making all kinds of images, movies inside my head, abstract symbols to stand for what I was trying to organize and shape into something I could deal with. . . . That sense has stayed with me to this day . . . and [as a child] it kept me very sober and very serious, I think. And somewhat confused because I could not communicate what was inside my head.[34]

Alma's early difficulties with language created a lifelong interest in how language is shaped and organized. Later in her career Alma's most satisfying teaching experiences involved music and story which she perceived as a combination of esthetic and analytic endeavors. Because of her personal problem with language, the current studies of left and right brain functions have particular appeal to her.[35]

In an unrecorded conversation included here because it may be of incidental value, Alma told about a happening that occurred when she was about three or four years old. The women in the community noticed that Alma was left handed and told Maggie that this was her fault because she had carried Alma with her left arm when

she was a baby. As a result Maggie gently but firmly redirected her little girl's natural inclination to use her left hand. Alma, ever the obedient child, sought to please her mother by becoming right-handed. It was a struggle but eventually Maggie's efforts were successful. The revelance of this matter as it relates to learning is inconclusive; however, it seems worthy of note.

Dave Gloeckler was appointed to the Clear Spring School Board in 1914 and was diligent in his role as trustee. When the time came to replace the teacher, Dave undertook the search.

> ALMA: He decided to bring in U.S. teachers and several came. But in 1917-18 he brought Mr. and Mrs. Marshall from Chicago and they made a tremendous impact on us. He had been an outstanding teacher. He had a fine reputation in the Chicago schools but he was diabetic and had lost his job because at that time there was no cure for diabetes. Dad said he didn't care as long as he was a good teacher.[36]

Alma was eleven years old when the Marshalls came to Great Deer. Mr. and Mrs. Marshall from the city of Chicago were certainly different from anyone else she had met. "The excitement that he and Mrs. Marshall created was something very unusual to us." First of all, the *New York Times* was brought into the classroom and discussed all week long. Maps and geography entered the curriculum. On Fridays, all the chairs were pushed aside and "in Mennonite communities you don't dance, but we played and moved happily to the music . . . ."[37]

Dave and Maggie Gloeckler had great respect for Mr. Marshall and Sunday visiting between the two families was a frequent occurrence. One afternoon during such a visit, Mr. Marshall made a remark to Alma's father which struck her as profoundly odd. "Do you know, Mr. Gloeckler, I know more about my little children in the classroom when I stand by the window and watch them play, than at any other time of the day."[38] The notion of learning anything about children at playtime was so extraordinary that Alma hardly knew what to make it. Years later, when she

encountered the educational philosophy of John Dewey, she remembered that moment between Mr. Marshall and her father. The theme of observing children played itself out many times over.

Part of the Gloecklers' fascination with the Marshalls grew out of the feelings of deprivation they experienced in terms of education. Maggie and David were both the third children in large families. Any chance for an education beyond the elementary level never presented itself for the older children. However, once their respective families settled into homesteading in Canada, the younger children all received secondary education. (Altogether two uncles and four aunts in both families received secondary education at Rosthern Academy.) As parents now themselves, Maggie and David decided that none of their children would be denied the opportunity of an education. They worked very hard for many years to make this possible.

Maggie's sister, Sue, and David's sisters, Martha and Ella, attended Rosthern Academy and were certified teachers. As single women, they were accepted in the profession. Within the Mennonite Brethren culture, there was not much room for the single lifestyle, male or female. Alma became aware early in life of how many men had second and third wives. Funeral services for women occurred twice as often as for men. Women worked hard; "They seemed like being very burdened." As a youngster looking at married life, Alma did not find it appealing. Still, "I loved to go into the mother-baby room that they had in the church. And I would offer to help play with the babies because I loved the little babies."[39]

An incident that occurred when Alma was about eight or nine years old added considerable confusion to her preadolescent perception of sexuality. Alma played with a special young friend in the neighborhood; Jacob was fifteen. They

would chase and tumble together on the way to and from school.

> ALMA: And something happened--sort of a trauma happened. We were playing one of these games and the children started chanting, "Alma loves Jacob, Alma likes Jacob." And they said it in such a way that it seemed a most shameful, shameful, awful thing. And I don't know, that really hit me. I think it must have been the disapproval, the rejective experience. But I associated that [playing with Jacob] with something very, very bad.[40]

Alma attempted to discuss the matter with Maggie but her confusion was such that Maggie was unable to discern what was troubling her daughter. Finally, Alma asked why Maggie had not told her that it was "bad to play with boys." And Maggie reassured her daughter that there was nothing wrong in that. Later, Maggie did have a private talk with each of the girls about what Alma described as a "boring" talk about "the birds and the bees and the butterflies."[41] Sexual intercourse was never mentioned. Maggie herself was not too comfortable with the subject of sexuality. During a conversation with her daughters, Maggie once mentioned that she prayed that the girls would not be pretty because attractive women are often seductive.

As she now recalls the incident, Alma was not as confused about sexual feelings in relationships as she was about relationships and life in general. Life was not without a certain amount of genuine confusion for this preadolescent Mennonite farm girl. When Alma was nine years old, she believed that the joy of growing up was "to do as I want." After Maggie explained to her daughter the responsibilities of adulthood, Alma was overwhelmed. In a poem that Alma wrote many years later when she lived in Oakland, California, she remembered how she felt.

AT NINE YEARS OLD IT SEEMED

"Life is a vale of tears."
You move into it
struggling forward
not expecting much.

"It is fraught with bitter disappointments."
Even then.

"It is serious."
Deadly serious.

The responsibilities of growing up to do
one's share, weighed heavy.
The joys are in the little things, and, in
those things that can
be shared
by
every one.
Thus it seemed to me
after asking joyously
about growing up and
doing "what I want."

"You have no other heritage
to take with you to adulthood."
I understood my mother to say.

And for a time later
the martyrs of early Christiandom
lived much in our house. So that
the church hymn still sounds:
"Where others once crossed through the floods
Should I stand on the shore?
Where others wore the crown of thorns
should I on roses tread?"
No! He must strive who wills to win.
So, Jesus, give me strength, to battle right
and bear the cross
in faithful, knighthood
manner."

Life at home was busier than ever. Two new little sisters joined the family. Teena was born in 1915 and Melba in 1918. Farmer Dave Gloeckler now had half a dozen daughters. Alma never saw or heard her father express any disappointment whatsoever that he had daughters instead of sons. Surrounded by little girls, David Gloeckler appears to have genuinely enjoyed the role of father. He played with the children on the floor and even submitted to having his hair styled for their amusement. Alma kept these memories in her heart and later wrote about them.

PAPA

With Father
on the floor
and two babies
on his back and neck
the noise in our home
was great and gay in its
playful mood.
And then when the noise was done
and rumpled was Father's hair,
the children gathered around to comb,
to braid and beribbon
that very
short
brown
hair.

When a new baby was born, Maggie always found a special song to celebrate the birth and David "would make a point of doing a lot of the housework."[42] He cooked and cleaned, and "then later on when he was too busy, he got one of the girls in the community to come and help."[43] David respected Maggie and often told his daughters, "You know, your mom knows what's right, and you're lucky to have her." For her part, Maggie worked shoulder to shoulder with David in accomplishing whatever had to be done. However, unlike some homesteading wives she did not work in the fields with David. Maggie's responsibility was cultivating and maintaining a large, family vegetable garden. Like other homesteading couples, "together they toiled from morning to night." Sex-role expectations were often set aside on the frontier, as in "other crisis situations."[44]

Great Deer did not escape the international health crisis created by the influenza epidemic of 1918-19. When the Gloeckler family became ill in December 1919, they thought they were victims of the flu. A new baby, Daisy, was born in early December 1919; both mother and child were seriously ill. Alma remembers "sitting in the front room, our parlor, and seeing that tiny little baby and Mother

lying on the bed and Dad sitting there crying. I didn't see Dad cry very often . . . ."[45]

There was much to cry about. The illness that infected most of the family was not the flu but diphtheria. By the time a doctor came from Radisson twenty miles away, May, age five, was critically ill. The Schick vaccine, discovered in 1909, would undoubtedly have saved her life but the isolation of the prairie placed this cure beyond reach. May succumbed to diphtheria on December 12 when Daisy was ten days old. Maggie's prayer for May's life during the baby's early illness remained a sad memory. She told her daughters that she "never would do that again." To lose her beautiful child now was almost more than she could bear. To compound the misery, a favorite little cousin, Abe Wiebe, died also. The families were placed under quarantine and felt isolated in their grief.

Alma wrote a story about this experience in 1984. It told how the community strengthens an individual when grief is shared. Little sister, Teena, remembered the occasion so clearly that after listening to the story, she suprised Alma by singing the hymn they heard on Christmas Eve, 1919. Teena was four and Alma was thirteen when they shared those unforgetable moments. The church choir came to the house and sang outside the window and the hope and promise of Christ's birth helped the greiving family to heal.

A poem written by Mennonite poet, Elmer F. Suderman, echoes Alma's account. The Mennonite sense of community, their music, and their faith, made an undeniable impression on those who grew up as a part of the group.

I USED TO KNOW HOW ANGEL VOICES SOUNDED[46]

Just like the carolers
who sang at my parents' window
between midnight and dawn
awakening me from pleasant dreams

with their hymns of great joy:
"Nun ist sie Erschienen."
There was no doubt about it then.
Though it was really Walter and Harold,
and Ruby and Alma, and Jake and Marie,
And I knew it, they were really angels,
had to be to sing so convincingly
of Christ's birth in the cold night air.

A DECISION TO RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES

Late in the spring of 1920 Alma and sister Myrtle traveled to Waldheim to stay with Aunt Mary and Uncle Issac Neufeld while they took the Provincial Examinations required by the Canadian government to indicate readiness for secondary education. Cousin Susie Neufeld took the exam at the same time. This was Alma's second time to take the exam. At Mr. Marshall's suggestion, Alma had taken the test the previous spring even though she felt ill prepared. At that time, Mr. Marshall told her "you very well may not pass but if you are willing to go, this will give us an idea [about the exam]. And there's nothing the matter with not passing the first time." Alma agreed. Unfortunately, she did not pass the exams.

Alma soon learned that the principal of the Waldheim school discussed the test results with her aunt and uncle, sympathizing about the "poor child's failure." It embarrassed Alma to think that she was a topic for conversation because of her poor performance during the exam. Later, in her professional career, Alma had a strong aversion to classifying a student's abilities based primarily on test results.

Mr. Marshall, who had worked so diligently to prepare his students for these important exams, lived long enough to know that this time both of his students passed with flying colors. Mr. Marshall, who had "put his house in order," died soon afterwards. It is sadly ironic that the following year, two Canadian physicians won the Nobel Prize in Medicine for isolating insulin as the hormone missing in

diabetics. If memory is immortality, Mr. Marshall is as alive today for Alma as he was in 1918 when he stood at the schoolhouse window watching the children at play.

Given the value Dave and Maggie placed on education, now was the time to make a decision about continued schooling. It was economically possible for Alma and Myrtle to follow the example of their aunts and uncles and attend Rosthern Academy. However, this meant that the girls would be boarding at school, which was not an acceptable choice for David and Maggie.

Earlier that year, Grandpa Carl and Marie moved back to the United States to enjoy their retirement years in the fertile fields of the San Joaquin Valley in sunny California. Carl's sister, Laura Gloeckler Unruh, lived with her family in Reedley, California. Two sons, Dan and Charlie Unruh, were successful farmers in Shafter about 100 miles south of Reedley in the Valley. As demonstrated earlier by the moves from Russia to Minnesota to Kansas to Saskatchewan, kinship ties within the Mennonite Brethren tradition were resilient. Knowing that his parents and other kin were in the area gave David incentive to join them.

Maggie wrote that they moved because "our daughters had a better chance for an education which they all wanted."[47] There is little doubt that education for the girls was the top priority. The decision might well have been different for a family of seven boys. Mennonite Brethren tradition dictates that fathers assist sons in acquiring land and becoming established farmers. Dave and Maggie had different concerns for their family. Education provided a status for women comparable to that of land owner for men. Seeking the opportunity for a good education was perceived to be the best legacy they, as parents, could provide.

There were additional reasons to consider a move, both human and economic. Losing a second child to the prairie, because life-saving medical aid was

unavailable, may have created doubts about the wisdom of remaining isolated. Maggie made no reference to such doubts in her 50th Anniversary memoir. She wrote poignantly; "Two children born in Canada God saw fit to take unto Himself. We sorrowed, but not without hope; they had just gone Home first."[48]

Economically, figures from the Saskatchewan Board of Agriculture indicate wheat production hit an all time high in 1915. However, in the years immediately following yields were in a steady decline, hitting bottom in 1919.[49] Local histories tell sad tales of a drought followed by hordes of grasshoppers and severe crop failure that year. The water supply, so plentiful when the Gloecklers claimed their homestead in 1905, was almost nonexistent in 1921. David, from a long line of farmers, may have anticipated the hard times to come and decided to leave Canada.

In the fall of 1920, Alma and Myrtle were finished with school temporarily and were able to be of more assistance at home with the children. Maggie and David, along with five-year-old Teena, decided to reconnoiter possible areas for relocation in the United States. Aunt Sue Peters and a cousin, Dave Berg, living with the Gloecklers at the time, were on hand to care for the family while Dave and Maggie were away. Maggie, remembering happy times in Oregon, wanted first to visit with relatives in Salt Creek. She wanted David to see the area and give serious consideration to settling there. But to Maggie's disappointment David "was not as sure of farming prospects in Oregon as he became in California."[50] The threesome arrived in California some weeks later after first visiting kinfolk in Kansas.

The Mennonite Brethren, established in the San Joaquin Valley, arrived with a group of sixty-five families who emigrated from Oklahoma in 1909. Maggie and David were very impressed with both the abundance in every field and the favorable climate. They decided to buy the twenty-acre farm of a kinsman in the Shafter area.

If all went well, they would return the following year and take possession of the land. Then, bidding parents and cousins a fond farewell, the three travelers returned to Great Deer excited to tell of all they had seen and heard in California.

Many changes had occurred on the Gloeckler homestead between 1906 and 1921.

> ALMA: But transportation was the biggest [change] in terms from oxen to horses to cars. Of course, our yard had changed. We had [grown from] the shanty and a little tiny alcove and little old barn with the hayloft to the great new barn with haysheds, and big haylofts, and grain sheds, and smoke house, and, of course, the big house with three bedrooms upstairs, and the family living room, the parlor. And a new leanto which was the living/dining room and a little wash kitchen even on the side. So all of that was very, very different.[51]

As teenagers, Maggie and David left the United States and entered Canada with their parents. Now they, as parents, were preparing to return to the States with children of their own. With much to do, 1921 was a busy year. Alma and Myrtle as the oldest were more preoccupied with what they were leaving behind than what lay ahead. Frances, not quite eleven and an enthusiastic student of geography, traced the anticipated journey from start to finish. Teena entertained Melba and Daisy with images of watermelons awaiting them on their new farm.

Dave Gloeckler sold his 400-acre farm to John Charko, a Russian Catholic, for an unknown figure. It is known that Charko had little cash to buy the land. But David had confidence in Charko's agricultural expertise and an agreement between the two men provided for full payment over time. Life was difficult in Canada in the 1920s and even worse in the "dirty 30s." "God, will it never rain again . . . . No rain, no crop, no feed, no faith, only wind."[52] As the Depression deepened, the Canadian government put limits on revenue leaving the country. Dave Gloeckler never received full payment for his land.

Years later, in 1980, some of the adult children of each family met at the 75th

anniversary celebration of the founding of Borden. The Charko men greeted Alma and her sister Teena very cordially. "Those young fellows apologized. They said, 'Our Mom always wanted you to get the money that we owed you but we just couldn't do it.'"[53]

Charko's family included eleven children. He appeared to follow Gloeckler's example in that he too worked on the school board and sat on the board of the Great Deer Telephone. John's wife, Mary, offered the same warm hospitality to visitors as was Maggie's custom. In a publication commemorating Borden's 75th anniversary one of the Charko children wrote: "It wasn't unusual for weary travelers to stop at our house for food and shelter. No one was ever turned away. There was water and feed for the animals and plenty of homemade bread and better for the hungry families."[54]

No papers left behind by David Gloeckler indicate how he felt leaving his homestead that bitter cold December morning in 1921. The family bundled into a bobsled and traveled to Dalmeny across the North Saskatchewan River where Dave's sister, Susie Gossen, and her family lived. From there the family would take a train out of the province. Dave and Maggie first crossed the river on ice in March 1905, a young couple filled with excitement at what lay ahead. If Dave had any feelings of sentiment about the moment, would they have been comparable to these lines of poetry written by a Borden poet, Bob Mason, as a tribute to his father?[55]

A PIONEER

Yonder he stands on the hilltop, watching out over the plain,
Seeing somehow in that sunset the trails of bison again,
Crossing and crossing the grassland to disappear in the haze
That hangs like a dusky curtain, on the stage of the early days.
Feeling the exultation that coursed in his veins of old
As the first hard sod of the prairies from the point of his ploughshare rolled,
He knows as he stands there watching, that the trials of yesteryear
Were really the greatest triumphs in the life of the pioneer.

Alma maintains that the pioneering spirit remained with her parents all of their lives. "They never did feel as if things were settled and finished." Maggie's lengthy 50th wedding anniversary statement revealed no emotion about leaving Canada where she had spent half of her life. When the family clamored into the sled that frosty December morning, it would seem everyone but Alma and maybe Myrtle was ready to go. Alma wrote this poem in Oakland in 1954.

CHANGING SILHOUETTES

An oak tree stands on the broad horizon
sturdy and wide and spreading
a mile and a half from home.
It is the home of great big hawk
soaring and gliding on high.
He's come again on this day of Spring
to claim his nest in that tree.
That nest is big but covered with boughs
when the spring brings out its leaves.
And busily flying in and out
that same hawk breeds its young.
Then comes that day when fledglings fly
and one when the last hawk leaves.
The sky turns vast in new emptiness
and the oak tree droops its boughs
When autumn comes and leaves turn red
and then begin to fall
the nest takes on sharp, hulking lines
among the branches bare.
The nest now gains a great prominence
and hangs in cone shaped lines,
until the snows build gently round
and set soft lines in frost.

For Alma the transition to her new life in Shafter, California, would be difficult. It would be many years before she would find a nest as secure as the one she left behind.

CHAPTER THREE

SHAFTER, CALIFORNIA, 1921-1942

Alma and her family arrived in Shafter, California in late December 1921. They were greeted by Grandpa Carl and Grandma Marie Gloeckler who had arrived one year earlier and already had a house built for the new arrivals. Maggie declined what her in-laws offered because the living spaces within the house were too limited. She feared that once the family moved in and accepted it, they might never move out!

As it was, they moved into a "shack with two rooms. One was the living room; the other was the kitchen." David, assisted by kin, both local and Canadian, made some immediate improvements. Sleeping quarters were created in sheds in the yard. "Dad built on screen porches in the back as sleeping quarters." Initially, there was little furniture; "we sat on boxes." Two indispensable items purchased immediately were a piano--"that we couldn't do without"--and a Singer sewing machine.[1]

> ALMA: There was nothing the same. Myrtle and I were adolescents so for us it was a very real culture shock. Everywhere there was dust . . . . When I look back there was nothing beautiful except the great big pump that was pumping water into the reservoir. . . . It was drab, severe, and even the hills were gray. Gray and dead.[2]

Shafter, California, is close to the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley about twenty miles north of the largest city in the area, Bakersfield. During the winter months, the sky is often overcast. A heavy fog creeps in after sunset and is sometimes reluctant to leave even after sunrise. Dust is blown about everywhere, into everything.

The town was named for General William Rufus "Pecos Bill" Shafter, who died in 1906. Following his retirement from the military, General Shafter became a large landholder (10,520 acres) in the area south of Bakersfield. Shafter's close

friend, Henry A. Jastro, was head of the Kern County Land Company, the largest landholder in the state. "In honor of his friend, the General, Mr. Jastro decided to name the new townsite Shafter."[3]

The Sante Fe Railroad completed the track between Bakersfield and Fresno, the next town of any size to the north, in 1898. The Kern County Land Company built cattle pens and a loading platform next to the tracks in what came to be the town of Shafter. After the rail service began, Henry J. Martens, falsely representing himself as a land developer for the Southern Pacific railroad, traveled to Oklahoma to attract settlers for the area.

In 1909 Martens duped 109 families (Mennonites and Seventh Day Adventists) into trading land in the Midwest for virgin farmland around Lerdo, California, six miles east of Shafter. According to an account in the *Bakersfield Californian,* Mennonites coming into the area began building homes in October. A colony named Martensdale located near Lerdo was established by the new arrivals, but disbanded within a year when residents learned that Martens' was a "crook." A warrant was issued for Marten's arrest in February 1910.[4]

Among the Mennonites affected by the scam was the Jacob Bergen family, friends of Maggie Peters from Salt Creek, Oregon. Bergen gave Martens his deed to two hundred forty acres in Oklahoma in exchange for sixty acres in California. Martens immediately sold the Bergens' land in Corn, Oklahoma, for eight thousand dollars before his one-year option on the California land was up, and "skipped with the profits."[5] Within one month of their arrival in California, the Bergens learned that they did not own the land on which they were living.

Sixty-five Mennonite Brethren families had traveled together into the valley. Some of the families had nothing to return to and decided to move south into

Rosedale where a Mennonite Brethren Church was organized that same year, 1909. The Bergens joined with other Mennonite families already settled to the north in Reedley, California. Among those in the community was Carl's sister, Laura Gloeckler Unruh. The Mennonite Brethren Church in Reedley has the distinction of being the first M.B. church organized in California (1905).

At the time the land was surveyed in December 1912 and January 1913, the only building in Shafter was the railroad foreman's house. The Kern Land Company began to promote active development around Shafter in 1914; eventually 27,000 acres were sold. Mennonites came back into the area about this time. The Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church was organized December 1918; Jacob Bergen and his family were charter members. In 1922-23 Henry Kohfeld, a second cousin to David Gloeckler, was pastor. John E. Wiens, nephew of Marie Wiens Gloeckler and David's first cousin, also served in the church during the 1940s. Henry Reiger, David's half-brother, and his family, along with the Strauss family cousins, were among church members.

Carl Gloeckler's nephews, Dan and Charles Unruh, entered the Shafter community in 1919 as part of "a large group of families of German descent . . . . These hard-working farmers strengthened the new, struggling community."[6] Businesses in town appeared slowly: a garage, a blacksmith shop, a lumber company, and a grocery store. One year later, Carl and Marie left Saskatchewan and moved south to enjoy their retirement years in the warm California sun. They bought land, built a house, and prepared for the arrival of Canadian visitors in the fall.

When David, Maggie, and five-year-old Teena arrived in the fall of that same year, to explore the possibilities of relocating, they enjoyed the genial hospitality of

the Gloeckler, Unruh, Strauss, and Regier families. This kinship support system was securely in place when the entire family returned to take up permanent residence in December 1921. Yet, even with family around, adjusting to the area presented a challenge.

Dave Gloeckler purchased an expensive, twenty-acre farm from Gus Wedel in a cash transaction. John Charko, who purchased the Gloeckler four-hundred-acre farm in Great Deer, was cash poor and David had agreed to carry a large mortgage. These financial arrangements created hard times for the family in Shafter. Because the valley land was so expensive, it was essential to cultivate every square foot. In spite of this necessity, Maggie raised a lovely flower garden around the house. There was never a question about the wisdom of maintaining the family vegetable garden. For a family of eight, the garden meant survival. Peach trees, apricot trees, and watermelons provided fresh fruit .

The Shafter acreage was planted in grapes, a new crop for David. It wasn't long before he became disenchanted with the notion of producing a crop for "imbibers." Additionally, the vines required attention beyond what David alone could provide. One evening, with great reluctance, David asked Alma and Myrtle "to stay home a few days to help" with the critical work of pruning and tying up the vines.[7] Never one to miss an opportunity for sharing the truths of the Bible, Father used the occasion, working side by side with the girls, to provide a lesson on Christ's parable of the vine and the branches. By 1923 cotton and potatoes replaced the grapes. For David these crops were new also; however, they did not demand the vineyard's critical care. Both cotton and potatoes became staples in the region.

The crop that put Shafter on the map as the home of California cotton was first tested the area by the United States Department of Agriculture in March 1917.

The "trial plots" were encouraging enough to break ground for the U.S. Experimental Station about four miles north of town in 1921. By 1922 large-scale cotton planting and cross breeding were underway. The potato plant was introduced in the area in 1914 and did well from the start. Kern County became known as "the potato capital of the world." David's judgment was rewarded early; 1924 was an outstanding potato year.[8]

Maggie and the girls had an opportunity to work the potato fields that first summer in California. A neighbor needed help and was willing to hire the entire family to pick and sack the crop. They each earned $3.00 a day!

> ALMA: Mother was out there picking potatoes. We were putting potatoes in the bucket, and putting the buckets full of potatoes into the sacks. Making the sacks stand up, row after row keeping up with the plow that was digging them up. . . . We worked on the farm in Saskatchewan but this was certainly a different kind of work all the way through.[9]

The field work was not repeated very often. Most summers during high school, Alma and Myrtle joined their cousins and other young people in town working in the Mettlers' grape-packing sheds.[10] Times were hard from the beginning. Maggie, always frugal, bartered food and bought cotton feed sacks which the family used as dish towels.[11]

Alma and Myrtle started school in January 1922. The gift of free education plus a school bus that conveniently stopped to pick them up was almost too good to be true. Students in the area attended Wasco High School, about six miles north of Shafter. Wasco High School opened in 1918 and had an enrollment of approximately 500 students in 1922. (Shafter High School did not open until 1928.)

Whatever disappointment the girls may have experienced in response to their new physical environment, the "culture shock" of the social environment was more traumatic.

> ALMA: We got on the bus; the kids made fun of us. They thought we were funny looking and when we spoke, they chuckled. . . .We had different color skin. They were nice and healthy sunshiny brown and their clothes were different. . . .We seemed unfamiliar. So there was really nothing for us except the books.[12]

Alma's poetic memory of walking to school in Great Deer captures the innocence and wonder of childhood left behind in Saskatchewan. The move to Shafter exchanged the social security of the early years for the social insecurity of young adulthood.

ON THE ROAD TO SCHOOL, WALKING

Long rushes by the side of the road
waving in the breeze lazily, stealthily
holding some vibrant, living mystery
damp to the touch
and, oh, so green
and smooth.

What life was there in these rushes?
Was it really only the wind?
Oh, no - there seemed to be a life
all its own
moving in those rushes, in those
smooth, damp
long, green
rushes.

It might be a fearful thing
living in those rushes!!

It might be some friendly elves or goblins
sporting in those
smooth damp
strangely moving
long green
softly singing rushes.

It was a mystery wonderful
to pass by early in the
silent morning
going off to school.
Then, in the late of spring one day
very softly rippling sounds came
gurgling in those rushes.

Alma and Myrtle began Wasco High School as freshmen and continued to share classes all the way through to graduation, May 1925. They had the great good fortune to encounter Mr. Hill, first Principal of Wasco High School.

> ALMA: Well, the first time we went to his office, he made such a fuss about us when we showed him our Provincial Examination papers. . . I can still see him clucking over those papers, saying he just wished that his juniors and sophomores could pass examinations like this.[13]

Mr. Hill was very strict about what courses the girls took. He said, "No!" to Home Economics but Maggie said, "Yes!" Maggie won the day. Mr. Hill also discouraged these college-bound high school freshmen from taking typing. Further, when a luncheon was to be served to the School Board, Mr. Hill told Miss Pokinghorn, the cooking teacher, "Not those two!" His concern for the new students was nothing short of amazing to Alma. "What a thing this was! Here we were living in a shack and we were nobodies, but we were somebodies in the high school for Mr. Hill."[14]

Mr. Hill is not mentioned by name in the controversial study *As You Sow* (1947) written by Walter Goldschmidt, an employee of the California Agricultural Board of Economics. However, a discussion of the first principal of the high school confirms all of Alma's recollections.

> An early high school principal was a community leader with a firm conviction of the value of "cultural" as opposed to "practical" education. He was responsible for the construction of the auditorium which is unusually lavish. He stressed the arts and classical languages at the expense of commercial and agricultural courses. He likewise insisted that the teachers become integral parts of the community.[15]

Alma's high school years were spent with "the books." She and Myrtle studied hard, because their parents warned them if they "didn't cut the straight line, none of our little sisters are going to get to go anywhere either." The joy of life was again found in music. School provided piano lessons and an opportunity to study

musical composition. Music, however, was not considered a part of academia by Maggie and Dave.

> ALMA:. Miss Carr had a little contest for people who had done a nice [musical] composition and I was one she thought should get a little prize. She was going to have a little party. Dad and Mother said, "No, you don't have to go to that." They didn't think anything about that.[16.]

> We looked ahead only to education. Folks just doggedly worked. Mother worked awfully hard day and night. Dad did too. When we talk now sometimes we can still see Dad up and down those rows working till late at night, early in the morning, doggedly exhausted. . . .During those very, very serious, heavy, hard years, the last two years of high school, things were really rough for them. Dad got very solemn. He had been sort of a playful person. [He] became very solemn and not much nonsense around the table.[17]

During this period, on January 7, 1924, a seventh daughter, Maruth, was born into the Gloeckler family. There was the joy and wonder and celebration of new life but the baby's arrival complicated life for Frances, age thirteen. Frances graduated from eighth grade in May, and was naturally very excited about attending high school in the fall. Maggie's sister, Sue, lived with the Gloeckler family at the time. Aunt Sue insisted that Maggie needed help at home with the new baby. Because the older girls, Alma and Myrtle, were to begin their senior year in high school, Aunt Sue demanded that Frances drop out of school for a year and remain at home. With heavy hearts, Maggie and David agreed.

It was hard for Frances to see her classmates go on without her. The local Truant Officer came to call on the Gloecklers in an unsuccessful attempt to "force" them to permit Frances to attend school. Frances did return to school the following year; however, she wrote later "no succeeding graduation held a candle to the thrill" of her eighth grade graduation.[18]

Watching her parents struggle to survive affected Alma. As the oldest child, she was particularly attuned to her parents' concerns. Alma's behavior fits the profile of oldest daughters in farming families presented by Nancy Grey Osterud in

an essay titled "Land, Identity and Agency in the Oral Autobiographies of Farm Women."

> Because their individual identity was founded upon their place in the line of generational succession, it did not occur to them to define personal goals in opposition to familial ones.[19]

Alma identified strongly with her parents in caring for her younger siblings, working in the house and on the farm. Whatever was of concern to her parents was of concern to Alma. "I was too wound up with myself. I was too introverted and I was very, very nervous about everything. I seemed to have lost all of my spontaneity."[20]

Everything was different in Shafter: the weather, the crops, the way of life. The close-knit community life in Great Deer gave way to the pervasive spirit of American independence. Life in the temperate California climate lacked the critical edge of pioneering life in Saskatchewan. Especially significant to Alma was the difference found within the Mennonite community.

> ALMA: Well, it was so much more individualistic. The group, the Mennonites here, had become very much acculturated. They had come from all over. They came from north, west, east, south - everywhere. They hadn't formed. . . .[21]

They hadn't formed the traditional unity. Now into the second and even third generations, American Mennonite Brethren were responding to the societal pressures experienced by all immigrants to adopt the dominant culture.

In just four years, the church gained two hundred members. The Brethren who formed the church were from "the plains states Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma and Nebraska. . . . Some of them were well-to-do; most were poor. . .all bore simon pure Mennonite names."[22] By 1922 Grandpa Gloeckler was in charge of foreign relief projects. During the 1920's "thousands of dollars in cash and large amounts of clothing were forwarded to indigent and starving people, especially Mennonites, in

Siberia, Russia and Canada."[23]

David Gloeckler also became active in the Shafter church. As he had assisted with the work of Christian Endeavor in Great Deer, he now became a leader in "Jugendverein." This Christian service fellowship evolved from a "ministry for youth [into] a ministry by youth." While David was involved with this activity during the 1920s, "a shift of emphasis from mutual fellowship to public service" occured.[24]

David and Maggie placed themselves out of step with their Mennonite Brethren in Shafter because of their emphasis on education. "Generally speaking, higher education did not receive the general and wholehearted supported of the [M.B.] conference during this period . . . ."[25] Because secular education represented a threat to the authority of the church teachings, most Mennonite children went into farming work as soon as education was no longer mandatory. Alma said, "It was quite an accomplishment for us to have graduated from high school, as far as the community was concerned because many of the Mennonite kids never did go."[26]

By allowing his children to participate in school activities, David Gloeckler drew the ire of the minister.

> ALMA: Unfortunately, there was a minister that made all of us uncomfortable because he seemed so very, very narrow in his conceptions. His own daughters were not allowed to go to school and he was particularly critical of Dad letting us be so free to what seemed to him, to get to do far too We could not only go to high school but we could also participate.[27]

Alma was more distressed by an incident involving her younger sister, Teena. Tradition in the Mennonite Brethren church dictated that women were not allowed to cut their hair. One summer day Teena, aged ten, said to Alma, "I'd like to cut my hair. It's so hot!" Alma told her, "Teena, well, the long hair is just for the women. And you're just a girl so I don't think there is anything the matter with that." So

Teena cut her hair. The following Sunday, the minister called a sobbing Teena before the congregation and required her to confess her wrongdoing.[28]

A booklet commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church reported:

> A number of problems, apparently calling for disciplinary action, continued to disturb the Church. . . .especially "hair bobbing," being practiced more and more by the girls and the young women of the congregation, came up in the meetings of the Church for increased criticism.
>
> The latter matter, for instance, was dealt with in a business meeting as early as July 8, 1925, when it was decided that such women members, who cut their hair short, are subject to discipline, cannot take communion, and cannot be considered as being full members until they repent before the Church and quit the practice. To give this official position of the Church on this matter added emphasis, the rules against "hair bobbing" were read from the pulpit on Sunday. [29]

Alma remembered that Maggie Gloeckler received some letters from church members suggesting there were things about the daughters' style and hair that did not seem quite appropriate. Changes were suggested "but Mother didn't pay much attention."[30]

In response to the needs of foreign missions, the women of the church requested permission to form a sewing circle. "It took two more years before the men of the church in a business meeting, were really in favor of it . . . ." Later still, in a business meeting it was decided to "allow the Junior Sewing Circle to buy a new piano and turn in the old one as a down payment."[31] Obviously, the gender equity present during times of hardship on the prairie was not to be found in Shafter.

It was one thing for Alma to struggle with the social adjustments required by her new environment, but to place the sacredness of the individual at risk within the Church presented a genuine contradiction to her understanding of the Mennonite Brethren teachings. Such behavior was directly at odds with her experience of church in Great Deer.

> ALMA: The ministers, the two ministers that we had in Borden, seemed very much more mature human beings. David Klaussen, our first minister, was not what you would call an educated person but he was a serious, caring person and he was very good for everyone in that congregation. There was not one human being in that little congregation that he did not acknowledge. All of us kids were important to him.. . .[32]

TABOR COLLEGE, HILLSBORO, KANSAS, 1925-1927

As high school drew to a close in 1925, Alma reconsidered her idea of becoming a missionary. Aunt Martha, in whom Alma confided, suggested "it might be better to go to college first." Because these were "serious, heavy, hard years" and David was without the financial resources to pay for college, he asked Grandpa Gloeckler for a loan. Carl Gloeckler maintained many connections within the Mennonite network. He agreed to help but insisted that his grand-daughters should attend a Mennonite Brethren school, Tabor College in Hillsboro, Kansas. Hillsboro was not far from where Carl and Marie had lived when they moved from Minnesota into Kansas forty years earlier.

Alma and Myrtle went off to Tabor College in the fall of 1925. Student enrollment at Tabor (208) was considerably less than at Wasco High School (750). Around the turn of the century, the Brethren shared an educational program with McPherson College, a Mennonite school in Hillsboro. But in 1908 Tabor College was established as a separate identity, the first Mennonite Brethren College in the United States. The school represented a collaborative effort between the Mennonite Brethren and Kimmer Mennonite Brethren.

The early aims of the college, as stated by President H.W. Lohrenz, were "to offer a liberal arts education in a Christian setting, to prepare young men and women for spiritual leadership in the church, and to provide a program of vocational training."[33] From the beginning, studies of the biological sciences and

humanities received special emphasis. During the years Myrtle and Alma attended, the school was fully accredited; however, Tabor lost accreditation during the early years of the Depression (1932-33) as a result of declining enrollment. The school reopened as a General Conference institution in 1935, with fiduciary responsibility assumed by the Mennonite Brethren Church.

When Tabor was founded in 1908 as a Christian liberal arts college, the study of the Bible was regarded as the core of educational activity. Education had value primarily because it enabled students to enhance their knowledge of the Bible. With religion as an integral part of the curriculum, "teachers were perceived to be in a strategic position to exert a powerful moral and spiritual influence in the community."[34] As the primary task of the church was to educate the Brethren to the Word of God, "school and mission" became inseparably linked. At Tabor Alma found a means by which she could satisfy her desire to become a missionary. Teaching became a holy mission.

Women represented one half of the student body when Alma and Myrtle arrived in 1925. The curriculum included courses in the German and English languages, mathematics and science, and "a rich treasure of biblical knowledge for workers in Sunday schools, in the churches, and on the home and foreign mission fields."[35] Opportunities to participate in musical activities included the Tabor Chorus, Quartets, and Glee Club.

Alma and Myrtle chose an academic course, basically general education. Both women participated in all the musical activities. However, beyond music and the Y.W.C.A., they went their separate ways. Myrtle became active in the Student Council, joined the staff of *The Herald,* a Tabor publication, and served as Committee Chairman of the Y.W.C.A. Alma served as Secretary of the Y.W.C.A.

and was a member of the Mission Band. The Mission Band "was to bring together all Tabor students who have had a definite call to Christian service."[36]

Although Alma was away from home for the first time, there was comfort to be found in the familiarity of the prairie and in the discovery of her extended family. Kin of the Wiens and the Gloecklers, who had remained in Kansas when Carl and Marie went north to Canada, reached out with warm hospitality to the California cousins. Christmas and other holidays were spent enjoying good times in the homes of relatives and new friends. Alma and Myrtle actually lived in the dorm with second cousins Lydia and Viola Bergthold, daughters of missionary Dan Bergthold who was serving in India at the time.

> ALMA: And when Myrtle and I were in the choir and the choir went out singing, there were people here and there in these little outlying communities, they came to us and talked to us. They talked because they knew our Grandpa. . . . Here we little nobodies from Shafter. We had just come into our own a little bit and then we were out in the Midwest and here people knew who we were![37]

The school itself was "sort of plush and nice. We had our own dorm rooms and we got attention cause Tabor was small and we were Californians. . . .The professors were very serious. Not all of them were equally good, but all of them gave us something because they were committed, dedicated and intelligent human beings. It was a kind of a bridge."[38]

The bridge connected the personal attention Tabor students received with Alma's experience of Church in Great Deer. However, a contradiction existed between the latitude for personal autonomy in Great Deer and limitations within the academic environment at Tabor. Alma's disillusionment with the Church, that began in Shafter, continued at Tabor. Rather than encourage students to reach independent conclusions, Alma felt, the professors at Tabor tended to persuade students to a point of view that reflected Church policy. Alma felt uncomfortable

with the need to protect school funding at the risk of sacrificing academic freedom.

Although women were decidedly not a minority among the students, the only female faculty members at Tabor between 1925 and 1927 taught music and language. Alma saw nothing unusual about the lack of female representation on the faculty. She did, however, became aware of "a sort of double standard. . . .The fellows, these brilliant fellows, would be in charge of the Annual [yearbook] and the social setting. . . ."[39]

These "brilliant fellows" were members of the Student Council that included eight women and six men. Alma recalls that the men made the decisions and the women supported them. In the Annual [yearbook], the student body leaders categorized students into two groups: Academic and Vocational. Although Myrtle and Alma pursued the same course of study, Myrtle was classified "Academic" and Alma "Vocational." It bothered Alma to think that because she belonged to the Mission Band and expressed interest in the Missions, she was not considered an academic.

Also, it seems Alma felt the men who did the categorizing were influenced by physical appearance. "I was far too serious and I was always worried about something. I don't know why but when you look at the pictures, you'll see what I looked like."[40]

Myrtle was a member of the Student Council and, incidentally, a beautiful blonde. She associated with the "brilliant fellows" who made the distinctions. Alma felt confused and angry at being labeled "vocational," which was not to be confused with her interest in the missions. Because she saw it in academic terms, Alma described the situation as "just plain old snobbery," referring to the hierarchy that exists within fields of knowledge. The word "sexism" did not exist in 1926.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES, 1927-28

At the close of their second year at Tabor, in May 1927, Alma and Myrtle returned to California. By now both women knew they wanted to teach. Alma: "I wanted to teach and I knew that I wanted to teach in California, so there was only one practical thing to do. Besides we were still very short of money. . . ."[41] They enrolled at UCLA and began classes in the Fall of 1927. Once again the adjustment from one school to the other was facilitated by the presence of family. Carl Gloeckler's youngest daughter, Ella, and her husband, Henry Dirks, lived in Los Angeles where Henry taught while completing his doctoral thesis. Alma's uncle, John Gloeckler, attended a small Mennonite church in the city and he introduced his nieces to a new group of friends.

> ALMA: This was hard work and we didn't have money really, so we earned our way. We worked in homes. But then there were our Aunt Ella and Uncle Henry who were living in Los Angeles. . . .And they saw to it, especially Aunt Ella saw to it, that we had a good time. We would go there Sunday after Sunday. Always had something good to eat and good visiting. . . . There was that bridge again from Tabor to that big impersonal campus.[42]

Myrtle planned to teach high school. Alma wanted to get inside a classroom as soon as possible both for the experience and to earn badly needed money. Her efforts went toward satisfying the requirements for an elementary school teaching credential.

> ALMA: When I was doing my student teaching I was assigned by the supervising teacher to take these two little children and see how they did. And I don't know what it was I was to teach. I was to teach. I was to observe. I was to suggest what they were ready for next. And I thought, what could be easier than that? So then she drew me aside and she said, "You know you are the only one in my class who seems to be ready to see these children as they are, and to deal with them . . . .I thought, well, what else would a person do but that?[43]

This incident, which occured while Alma was a student at UCLA, was Alma's

introduction to the philosophy of educator-philosopher John Dewey. The material discussed in one of her classes, Sociology of Play, gave a new interpretation to Mr. Marshall's behavior when he watched the children in the playground. Mr. Marshall may have known intuitively that there was something to be learned by watching children interacting. It is also possible that he was familiar with Dewey's works. Before his move to Canada, Mr. Marshall and his family lived in Chicago where Dewey's first work was published. In any event, Alma saw immediate similarities between the teaching philosophies of the two men. Both teachers shared a respect for the child's innate capacity for growth, and the realization that humans are first of all social beings.

> The true center of correlation on the school subjects is not science, nor literature, nor history, nor geography, but the child's own social activities. [44]

JOHN DEWEY'S INFLUENCE

John Dewey's ideas about education had a profound impact on Alma's professional life. As the early years in the Mennonite Brethren community at Great Deer enabled Alma to find a spiritual value in her personhood, so Dewey's philosophy validated her intuitive feelings about the spiritual value of her chosen vocation. The fact that Dewey, an agnostic, rejected the certainty of absolutes did cause Alma some concern. However, the respect Dewey afforded to a child's innate capacity for growth, along with his belief that the purpose of education was social service, remained a model for Alma during her forty-seven year career.

John Dewey expressed his beliefs in a pedagogic creed in 1897. His social philosophy stressed the worth of the individual and emphasized cooperation rather than competition. "I believe that all education proceeds by the participation of the individual in the social consciousness of the race. . . "

> In sum I believe that the individual who is to be educated is a social individual, and that society is an organic union of individuals. If we eliminate the social factor from the child we are left only with an abstraction; if we eliminate the individual factor from society, we are left only with an inert and lifeless mass. Education, therefore must begin with a psychological insight into the child's capacities, interests, and habits. It must be controlled at every point by reference to these same considerations. These powers, interests, and habits must be continually interpreted - we must know what they mean. They must be translated into terms of their social equivalents - into terms of what they are capable of in the way of social service.[45]

Dewey's theoretical basis of knowing was colored in part by the philosophical influence of Hegel. "There is a greater richness and greater variety of insight in Hegel than in any other single systematic philosopher not excepting Plato." By analyzing and synthesizing a collection of facts, Dewey attempted to unify the "connections among matter, life, mind and society." Dewey was equally influenced by the practice of democratic values in Vermont, where he was born on a farm near Burlington on October 20, 1859. He credited the time and place as impressing upon him "the meaning and importance of the free, self-respecting human being in a community of interrelated individuals, each, after his own manner contributing to the production of a democratic society."[46] What Dewey describes bears a startling resemblance to Alma's early years.

After receiving his Doctorate in Philosophy at Johns Hopkins in 1884, Dewey moved west. In 1894, he left his position as Chairman of the Philosophy Department at the University of Michigan to accept an appointment as Chairman of Department of Philosophy, Psychology, and Pedagogy at the University of Chicago. The new position afforded him a unique opportunity to "translate his more abstract ideas into practical form."[47] At a time when the scientific method gave credibility to knowledge derived from experimentation, observation, and verification, Dewey sought to create a Laboratory School that would merge theory and practice in the education of young children.

If the nineteenth century could be seen as one day, Dewey's school opened a few minutes before midnight. The final minutes of the old century were filled with contradictions. The 1890s were hard times; there was depression, unemployment and labor unrest. Imperialism had become the United States's international policy. Domestically, the rich were getting richer and the poor, poorer. However, in spite of circumstances, the advent of a new century generated hope and excitement. The social and intellectual climate provided Dewey with the opportunity to test his theories. Education held the hope for humankind's gradual movement toward enlightenment. According to Walter Lippman, "it was a happy time.... It was easy for a young man to believe in the inevitability of progress, in the perfectibility of man and of society, and in the sublimation of evil."[48]

One of Dewey's major interpreters, Boyd Bode, explained how Dewey challenged the traditional approach to education practiced in the United States. "Historical aristocracy maintained cleavage between the cultural and vocational, between intellectual and practical, between quest for truth and art for their own sake and the recognition of their social significance and responsibility."[49] The division between classical education and vocational training was drawn along lines of class. Dewey was holistic in his approach to education; he did not perceive these two areas of learning as mutually exclusive.

In a nation espousing democratic principles, Dewey believed, the classroom was the laboratory for testing the democratic hypothesis.

> What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy. . . . Here individualism and socialism are at one. Only by being true to the full growth of all individuals who make it up, can society by any chance be true to itself.[50]

Two teachers at the experimental school, Katherine Camp Mayhew and

Anna Camp Edwards (authors of *The Dewey School*), explained that an emphasis on cooperation was present from the start.

> School was a cooperative venture of parents, teachers and educators . . . . The school was a laboratory for the departments of Psychology and Pedagogy where Mr. Dewey's educational theories and their sociological implications were worked out in accord with the then new psychological principles and in association with colleagues and students, the teachers in the school, and the parents of the children. [51]

Traditionally, education was viewed as comprised of well-defined building blocks. Dewey attacked the notion "that exercise of specific sorts strengthened the mind like gymnasium weights strengthen the muscles."[52] Drill and memorization were rejected as an antiquated approach to learning. In an new age that stressed the necessity of applying scientific criteria to problem solving, Dewey contended, it was essential that all students benefit from teaching methods that encouraged the development of critical thinking skills. Additionally, studies in psychology revealed the importance of environment, and there was a growing awareness, both social and academic, of developmental differences among individuals. Dewey's work contributed to a better understanding of the child as an individual with a personality to be cultivated and with interests and curiosity about the world around her.

The Progressive socio-political movement at the turn of the century was strongly influenced by the scientific evolutionary theory of Charles Darwin. Darwin's theory was translated from biological to social terms in the last half of the nineteenth century by Herbert Spencer (1820-1903). Spencer, in his book *Education: Intellectual, Moral, Physical* (1861), placed particular emphasis upon education as a science. Because of the physiological and psychological integration of mind and body, Spencer contended, it was impossible to ignore social agents that affected the student.[53]

In Dewey's scheme of things, these factors translated naturally into the

relevance of the subject in relation to the child. How did the material relate to the child's "interest," the child's "experience"? Did the learning environment grant the child the "freedom" to explore fully the significance of the lesson? These ingredients became the focus of a method of teaching called "progressive education" that was practiced in private schools in the United States after 1910. Dewey's ideas entered the public sector indirectly through the influence of his teachings on the university level.

Progressive education as practiced during the twentieth century had its intellectual antecedents in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. When John Dewey formulated his vision of educational philosophy, he was standing on the shoulders of others who laid the foundations of modern educational theory. A brief review of the contributions made by his predecessors demonstrates that the elements in Dewey's recipe for change had been brewing for a long time.

EARLY INNOVATIVE EDUCATORS

French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) rejected the wisdom of his day which regarded the child as a small adult. Rather, Rousseau saw the natural desires and instincts of the child as cues to educational means and methods. Society should not be in a hurry to educate the child. In Rousseau's scheme of things, the first twelve years of education should place the student in contact with nature in a rural environment with some recommended reading and social contacts. Through observation and awareness of the consequences of behavior in nature, the student learns about his own limits. Following this natural, basic development comes three years of the study of local geography and natural science. Education ends with five years of socialization through the study of history, community trips

and play.

Rousseau advocated that young men of the aristocracy should learn a trade not for vocational but for social reasons: to avoid being a common parasite, to respect those who work with their hands, and to understand social relationships. Rousseau did not advocate education for women. Women's purpose, according to Rousseau, was to be useful to men. A woman required no education to fulfill this role; there was no need to train her to think for herself.[54]

Swiss educator Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827) applied Rousseau's ideas in Switzerland. Pestalozzi was very concerned about the education of the underprivileged. In an effort to teach these students, he attempted to reduce each subject (fundamentals such as language, number, and form) to its simplest terms and as a stimulus to the young pupil's curiosity, instead of books he substituted familiar objects of the natural environment. These familiar objects -- such things as animals, plants, or tools -- would eventually enable the student to move from the concrete to the abstract. Pestalozzi looked upon the child as "a unity made of moral, physical, and intellectual powers--all of which could be developed harmoniously through education."[55]

German philosopher Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) advocated the development of sound character as the most important aim of education. Herbart chose to emphasize history and literature as the most effective means of introducing children to desirable social attitudes. These subjects represented the "core" of study with which all other school subjects should be correlated. Herbert's moral and social aims of education did not neglect intellectual development. His approach to learning emphasized clear development of ideas and, most especially, the problem of interest. Additional concerns included experience and the "continuity of subjects

in relation to life situations." School curriculum should not include isolated subjects. Educational theorists in the United States used Herbart's *The A B C of Sense Perception* as a basic text.[56]

Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) was the founder of the kindergarten, "a garden where children grow." He was a contemporary of Herbart and Pestalozzi and, in fact, taught with Pestalozzi before opening his own schools in Germany and Switzerland. Froebel believed school should begin for children at about age three or four and that play should be the method for aiding growth and learning. Using a variety of play activities, Froebel "sought to develop the whole nature of child, moral and emotional as well as intellectual."[57]

Froebel believed that the primary business of school is to train children in cooperative and mutually helpful living. The root of all educative activity is in the instinctive, impulsive attitudes and activities of the child. Education was to direct and organize these attitudes and activities to maintain cooperative living of benefit to self and society.

Finally, there was Colonel Francis W. Parker (1831-1902), credited by Dewey as the "father" of progressive education. Parker extended Froebel's ideas from kindergarten to the elementary grades. In Dewey's words: "He pleaded for subject matter nearer to the experience and life of the pupils. He strove to throw off the yoke of fixed and uniform disciplinary measures."[58]

Parker taught in Europe for three years in the 1870s and was strongly influenced by the European educational theories. When he returned to the United States, he became Superintendent of Schools in Quincy, Massachusetts. Before long his educational reforms attracted national attention. So impressed was Mrs. Emmons Blaine that she gave Colonel Parker a one-million-dollar endowment to

initiate the Chicago Institute, a private training school for teachers. The University of Chicago was just opening and the University President, Rainey Harper, suggested that the institutes merge with the University to form a school of education, with Parker as the head. This happened in 1901. Colonel Parker died in 1902 and was replaced by John Dewey.

DEWEY AND PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

The adjectives most frequently used to describe John Dewey are "pragmatist" and "instrumentalist." According to Dewey's friend, William James, a pragmatist does not deny truth, he simply demands proof of its existence. Truth was "a dynamic series of ideas, beliefs and other processes which were the instruments by means of which the purposes of life can be achieved." For Dewey "instrumentalism" meant "scientific inquiry in the whole realm of values and ideals." Assumptions about what is known are invalid. It is necessary to use the instruments man has created to test assumptions. The result of the testing process is what Dewey called "grounded knowledge."[59]

Dewey remained at the University of Chicago until 1904. In a disagreement over policy, he left Chicago and that same year joined the faculty at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. He remained at the school until his retirement in 1929. During his long life (1859-1952), Dewey, as the educator-philosopher, wrote prolifically defending and explaining the complexities of his educational theories. Dewey even expressed criticisms of his own, directed at the flaws found in the implementation of his tenets. Instead of the "habit of mind" ideally formed by activity, freedom, and discipline, Dewey complained that some progressive schools merely "promoted curiosity, and had an uncoordinated quality

which appeared to have students going in several directions at once."[60]

As might be expected, Dewey was not without his critics. Conservatives objected to "sentimentalizing" the child in a "child-centered" system of education. By coddling the child, catering to his or her interests, the system sacrificed discipline and necessary fundamentals. Critics, such as Dr. Robert Hutchins, saw the agenda as "soft pedagogy" rather than a rigorous curriculum of studies. Hutchins, president and later chancellor of the University of Chicago, was representative of the traditional point of view which maintained that you vary from tradition at your peril. "The basic principles of education are valid at all times and in all places and for every manner and condition of man."[61]

In the 1950s another critic, Harvard educator Israel Scheffler, maintained that Dewey's view of the inter-relatedness of man and his environment was "too constricting a philosophic stance for many." Dewey's attempt to overcome the "inherited and pervasive dualisms" between theory and practice, means and ends was for his critics an unnecessary struggle. In Scheffler's opinion, Dewey underestimated "the value of detachment from social conditions." School ought to stand apart from life in order to more clearly illuminate "a wider world . . . [and foster] a capacity for purely theoretical curiosity and dispassionate vision."[62] Dewey's ability to see value in both sides of a problem mitigated his need to seek a perfect solution and, therefore, made his ideology suspect.

Education, according to Dewey, was "a process of living and not a preparation for future living."[63] The notion of education as a "process of living" carried both political and sociological implications. Taken to its logical conclusion, education had the potential to change the social order. Conservatives in nineteenth-century America resisted public education "on the theory that working people

should not be allowed to rise too rapidly out of their inherited places in society."[64]

Dewey wrote:

> It is not enough to see to it that education is not actively used as an instrument to make easier the exploitation of one class by another. School facilities must be secured of such amplitude and efficiency as will in fact and not simply in name discount the effects of economic inequalities, and secure to all the wards of the national equality of equipment for their future careers. Accomplishment of this end demands not only adequate administrative provision of school facilities, and such supplementation of family resources as will enable youth to take advantage of them, but also such modification of traditional ideals of culture, traditional subjects of study and traditional methods of teaching and discipline as will retain all the youth under educational influences until they are equipped to be masters of their own economic and social careers. [65]

The excesses of late-nineteenth-century capitalism resulted in the Progressive movement of the early twentieth century. The Progressive Party, led by Theodore Roosevelt, was comprised basically of socially conscious, middle-class professionals who sought to reform the political system. A commonly accepted interpretation of this period maintains that by eliminating the inefficiencies of local, state, and federal governments, by giving the populace more control over the electoral process, and by attempting to remedy the social inequities of the time, the Progressives hoped to bring needed change to the system.

Some recent studies interpret things differently.[66] Change did occur during this period; however, it was not due primarily to grass-roots efforts. Government and business reacted to an uncharacteristic swing of middle-class sympathies in support of working-class demands. By granting political concessions such as direct election to the Senate, and by establishing government standards for food and drugs the elite deflected labor's more radical demands, such as national health care and public ownership of railroads.

It was no accident that Dewey's writing coincided with the Progressive Era. His philosophical thesis concerning the innate connection between education and democracy accented change. John Dewey's most widely read and most influential

work, *The School and Society*(1900), was popularized during this time. The charter for progressive schools, fifty of which opened within twenty-five years in response to Dewey's call for change, is found in this small book. By 1910 Dewey's books began to be used widely in the study of education. The Progressive Education Association was organized in 1919.

Progressive education proposes that: (l) individual differences among children be recognized; (2) we learn best by "doing" and having an "interest" in what we are doing; (3) education is a continuous reconstruction of the experiences involved in living; (4) the classroom should be a laboratory for democracy; (5) a child should be taught to think critically rather than accept blindly.[67]

During Alma's student teaching, she was asked to evaluate the student's progress in order to discern "what next." It was obvious to her that activity leads to further activity. Learning progresses by gradual, first-hand contact with objects or activities that lie within the pupil's range of comprehension. The end in view is not the activity itself, but the organization of all of the experiences. Dewey calls this "logical organization of subject matter," or the idea. The idea becomes part of the experience whereby the continuity of learning progresses. Alma, the oldest of seven children, seemed to know intuitively that for knowledge to be effective, it must be related to the interests and abilities of the pupil at her stage of development. And, it must be relevant to life outside the school.

Alma agreed with Dewey's thesis that learning was the result of a continuous reconstruction of experience. The learning process demands that as new interests are introduced they must be related to previous experiences that have meaning for the student. Education was not the accumulation of isolated facts and information. Its purpose was to help the learner attain an ever-increasing supply of understood

ideas so that these would cumulatively become "instruments" for reconstructing experience.

Discipline, always the great concern of educators, was not a problem to Dewey. "The child comes equipped with an urgent need for development."[68] Instead of imposing knowledge on passive or rebellious students, Dewey required that the teacher involve the student in the process of learning. He explained that children naturally seek to create their own order; self-discipline is the natural consequence of comprehension. Dewey's understanding of human nature was critical to his education theory. As a public school teacher, Alma's recognition of the significance of Dewey's values both reassured her and challenged her.

ALMA'S FIRST TEACHING EXPERIENCE, 1928

Alma received her Teaching Credential in June 1928. She found immediate employment at Maple School in Shafter. Maple School District was in the Gloeckler's neighborhood and her younger sisters, Teena, Melba, and Daisy, attended the same school. Maruth began school the following year. On one of her first visits to Alma's classroom at the Maple School, Miss Holgerson, the Kern County General Supervisor of Elementary Education, noticed that Alma's notebook contained a slogan attributed to philosopher John Dewey. "We teach children not subjects."[69] Miss Holgerson smiled and was obviously pleased with Alma's interest in Dewey's work.

Later, if Alma encountered a perplexing classroom situation, she called on Miss Holgerson. One rainy day Alma told Miss Holgerson about the children's reaction to the weather.

ALMA: And she [Miss Holgerson] was excited about the little children who ran to

> the window, and talked about the rain, and kept telling me what the rain was doing, and laughed so hard at what the rain was doing. And I thought, isn't that amazing that these children are so excited about rain, and say so many interesting things about the rain. I better write it down. I don't know where that came from, but what else would you do? So I asked Miss Holgerson, "What should you do when the children do things like that?" because it was not in the books. Children sit and fold their hands and do what the teacher says. . . . [70]

She asked Alma to collect all of her notes on what the children told her. Miss Holgerson then proceeded to type them and she suggested to Alma that a book be made of the children's comments.

For his part, Dewey would not have been surprised had he been able to witness the children's excitement watching the rainfall. Dewey connected the joy of "knowing" with "doing." Fifteen years earlier he wrote:

> Children are almost always happy, joyous--and so are grown people--when engaged consecutively in any unconstrained mode of activity--when they are occupied, busy. The emotional accompaniment of the progressive growth of a course of action, a continual movement of expansion and of achievement, is happiness--mental content or peace.[71]

Coincidentally, during the years that Dewey was at Teachers College, Miss Holgerson offered to finance continuing education for Alma at the college. Alma knew Miss Holgerson only on a professional basis. She was so stunned by the offer that she automatically declined without even considering it. Miss Holgerson, a woman in her thirties, died unexpectedly the following summer; her estate created a scholarship fund for needy students. Alma was genuinely shocked when she read the details in the local newspaper. In light of circumstances, she reconsidered her hasty decision. She had declined the generous offer because she felt unworthy and unprepared for such recognition. Her second thoughts left her with a feeling of something "unfinished." If Miss Holgerson's confidence in Alma's teaching ability was to be realized, at some future time she must continue her education.

When Alma began teaching third grade at Maple School in Shafter, her introduction to full-time teaching was not all to her liking. The time in the

classroom was satisfying but her school principal exploited her young energies and idealism.

> ALMA: In reference to the school principal. . . I learned that I could get angry. I had forgotten that I could get angry. I didn't know what that felt like. Suddenly, I knew. He had all the gender notions you could imagine. . . . He was meddlesome and he decided if I could handle my third grade easily and comfortably that there was only one answer. That was by far the easiest grade in the school and so I should have a lot of extra work to do.
>
> I should be able to go to the yard every recess. I should be able to play the piano and march everybody into the classroom properly. And my kids should be able to march quietly into that room without any rumpus whatsoever. And I could teach his art classes, and I could keep things in order, and I could do whatever he had on his mind. And this was something I was simply not used to. Nobody - no man had ever treated me like that. Not my Dad, not Mr. Marshall, not the ministers, not anyone I knew. He was an authority in great ignorance, I thought.[72]

When Alma returned to Shafter from UCLA and began teaching, things at home were difficult. She found both parents worn out with hard work and concern about the times to come. First, Dave Gloeckler barely survived a ruptured appendix. While he was hospitalized his father, Carl, died. David left his hospital bed to attend the funeral along with his brothers and sisters. The following year Maggie had "female problems of some kind and she was completely worn down." In fact, she was so seriously ill that doctors told the family that she might not live.

Maggie herself did not expect to recover. Before going into the hospital she felt so miserable, she decided to cut her hair. Maggie told Alma, "What does it matter what the church says about this if I'm going to die anyway?" The hospital stay was for ". . . a goodly long time. And we were so poor that Dad couldn't pay the doctor hardly anything. And I remember Mother going to Bakersfield and bring him a few chickens. (chuckle) She at least wanted to let him know he was a pretty special man."[73] Maggie kept her her hair cut short and even got a perm on the way home from the hospital to celebrate her healing!

Alma felt fortunate to be home where she could care for the family. Both parents recovered and picked up where they left off in meeting the responsibilities of farm life. In 1928-29, Myrtle remained at UCLA to complete her undergraduate degree. Frances joined Myrtle at UCLA for her freshman year. (When Myrtle left UCLA Frances transferred to Tabor for her sophomore year. Myrtle attended UC Berkeley in 1929-30 to meet requirements for a secondary credential.) Teena, Melba, Daisy, and Maruth attended Maple School where Alma taught. The Gloecklers' extended family maintained support but the small farmers in the San Joaquin Valley struggled to outlast the hard times.

> ALMA: It was the time when the multis [agribusiness corporations] began to take over. And what they had said earlier in town, "Well, we're going to get these little guys out of the picture, because they spoil our price controls," which Dad heard them say. . . .
>
> So it was good that we could hang on to the land and eke out an existence out of our garden. And Mother had chickens and eggs and butter. Mother sold eggs at five cents a dozen to send a little money to Tabor.[74]

CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURE

The Gloecklers' effort to remain on the land took place amid a larger historical struggle in the state between the small farmer and the large landowner. Even before California joined the Union in 1850, land speculators realized that not all the gold in the state was underground. The massive land grants created when the Spanish and Mexican governments administered the territory came into the Union virtually intact. Cletus E. Daniel, in his book *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farm workers, 1870-1941,* explains the consequences:

> Significantly, the monopolistic pattern of land ownership established earlier was left largely undisturbed, and its perpetuation became one of the controlling factors in the development of agriculture in California. [75]

The Homestead Act (1862) that enabled some of the Gloeckler kin to settle

in Kansas and Oklahoma had a two-fold purpose. Ideally, it provided Jefferson's "yeoman farmer" with sufficient farmland to maintain his independence, to create communities, and to "constitute the bedrock of a genuine republican society." Realistically, it enabled the government to settle its lands on the western frontier. Neither of these conditions was relevant in California. The magnitude of privately owned property limited the amount of government ownership in the state. Further, California was not the frontier; the territory had been settled by the Spaniards and Mexicans for at least one hundred years before it entered the Union.

The large-scale land ownership practiced in California from the early days was anathema to traditional agrarians. Traditionalists believed that large-scale farming endangered the democratic values of a classless society. Instead of the individual farmer serving the needs of the entire community, the large-scale operation was perceived as serving only self. Obvious differences existed between the traditional family farmer, who believed agriculture had a higher social and political purpose, and the monopolistic landholder who viewed farming as an industry like any other.

The most apparent example of this dichotomy was the bonanza wheat farms that occupied tens of thousands of acres in the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys in the 1880s. Critics disparaged the enterprise as "mining for wheat." Like the gold mines of an earlier decade, the farms were managed by "absentee owners from their offices in San Francisco." The get-rich-quick mentality showed no concern for the long-run developmental needs of the state.[76]

Agrarian spokesmen, such as General N.P. Chipman and A.A. Sargent, were concerned about two issues. One was agricultural diversity. How could one be proud of producing massive amounts of a single crop? "Pass from the wheat region

of the great San Joaquin to the mixed farming of San Jose, and you pass from agricultural dark to agricultural light; from a land of apparent desolation to one of plenty."[77] The second issue was labor. In the traditional farm setting, when additional wage labor was required, workers were regarded as "fledgling yeomen, apprenticed on the land as they made their way up the rungs of the agricultural ladder to the level of bona fide freeholders."[78] Ideally, the family farm operated on a scale balanced by the labor the family supplied. Small-scale farming by definition did not require a permanent. seasonal labor force.

Large-scale operations required large groups of transitory harvest labor. Alarmed at what this represented for labor in a laissez-faire economy, A.A. Sargent addressed a meeting of the San Joaquin Valley Agricultural Association: "Such farming as this may enrich the particular owner, but it introduces a feudal system. It makes the State a wilderness and brings society back to the barbarism of the medieval age."[79] Labor in a feudal system was neither dignified nor independent. The exploitation of immigrant groups, beginning with the Chinese in the 1850s and continuing with the Japanese, the Filipinos, the Mexicans, and displaced American farmers during the Depression years, brought no glory to the free enterprise system. Indeed, it represented a total distortion of traditional Jeffersonian values.

This permanent dependence on cheap seasonal labor in California was firmly in place when the Gloeckler family arrived in 1921. David Gloeckler farmed on twenty acres and, although he later increased his holdings, his requirements for hired help remained minimal. Alma did not encounter the California phenomenon of "migrant workers" until after 1930.

RICHLAND SCHOOL, 1930-1935, AND FARM LABOR

Two years at Maple School left Alma restless for a change in environment. In 1930 she transferred to Richland School, the other elementary school in Shafter. Richland opened in 1914 as a one-room schoolhouse with eight students. When Alma arrived in 1930, her aunt, Martha Gloeckler, was among the eight faculty members.

> ALMA: And that was a much nicer job, although the principal had been a football coach. Again, he had no understanding or knowledge of the kinds of learning, and teaching, and problems, that we run into. But I got along very well. My friend, Mrs. Neufeld, taught me so many nice things about the classroom. Little things to do and we did a lot of things together. . . . The children were largely Mennonite although there was a larger mix . . . . Again it was understood that the primary teachers have the easiest grades and they can teach extra, do extra things.[80]

Alma remained at Richland Elementary School for five years. She attended summer school at the University of Southern California in 1932, 1934 and 1935 in order to complete her undergraduate studies. Alma's "world view" was significantly enlarged during these years. The Depression years in the San Joaquin Valley introduced Alma to the harsh economic and political realities of capitalism. Personally, the summer school years at USC opened doors that have never closed in a celebration of the esthetic component in the arts. Professionally, Alma learned every lesson her mentors and peers had to teach.

Being in a classroom during the Depression years brought Alma into immediate contact with the children of farmers who migrated to California to escape the desperate circumstances in the Midwest created by drought and new policies created by the government to aid agriculture.

> ALMA: Supervisors [county health nurses] came to visit us from Bakersfield and they suggested that we visit the homes. Get acquainted with the children.
>
> So I went out to see the parents. And these little children were living in paper boxes. Neat little boxes where the parents would cover up their provisions. Little Mexican children and little Okies. And I'll never forget walking into the camps and the grace and friendship--the humanity that I found there. And the discrepancies and the

> attitudes toward these people that were bereft. And the little children. I even invited a whole batch of the little Mexican children to my home and gave them our kinds of food (laughter) which they tried to eat. Oh, what crazy things one does. I could have done something else. They were so cute and they were so full of art. They were always drawing and making, and, and making little pictures.[81]

The influx of new students created problems in the elementary schools in the Valley.

> ALMA: It was decided these children were slowing our own children down. And they would have separate schools for them. . . . The children would come and go. . . .And there was so much transition that that's why these children lost out so much. But I was sorry to see them separated out because I thought as long as they could intermingle, I didn't see my children handicapped by them being in there. We could have them learn together.[82]

Carey McWilliams wrote *Factories in the Field* in 1935. McWilliams quoted from a pamphlet by George B. Mangold and Lillian B. Hill on migratory child labor that was written about the time Alma began teaching.

> The authors of this pamphlet state that, in 1929, there were 36,891 children reported in the school census in California who claimed no permanent residence and were migrants. Miss Hill found that migratory children were herded together in garages, school corridors and abandoned barns, with as many as 125 children for one instructor. Care was taken, also to segregate migratory children and to discriminate against them, both as to character and the extent of their education.[83]

Agriculture employed more children than all nonagricultural occupations combined. Laws created earlier in the century to protect children from exploitation did not apply to agriculture. It was generally assumed that farm children worked for their parents under healthy conditions. The fact was that the majority of hired child laborers in agriculture were seasonally employed. Children often worked in groups for persons other than relatives who had little concern for their well-being. Ignoring the reality of the situation gave the facade credibility. A photo and comment about children on a potato-picking crew in a Shafter publication illustrates the point. "Several of the children look like they might be too young for today's labor laws, but they probably grew up healthy in Shafter's sunshine."[84]

John Steinbeck captured the Depression era for posterity in a series of books

and articles. He published *Tortilla Flat* and *In Dubious Battle* in 1935, *The Grapes of Wrath* in 1939. Steinbeck was a local, born in the Salinas Valley. His expertise in farm labor matters impressed George West, publisher of the *San Francisco News.* During a meeting at the home of radical journalist, Lincoln Steffens, in Carmel, West engaged Steinbeck to write a series of articles on conditions in the San Joaquin Valley. The series ran daily for one week in October 1936 and provided Steinbeck with the material for his best-known work, *The Grapes of Wrath,* winner of the Pulitzer Prize in 1940.

Steinbeck titled his series of articles *The Harvest Gypsies.* He chronicled the change in farm labor from the days of wheat farms of the 1870s and 80s to the fruit and vegetable crops of the 1930s. In the shift from wheat to fruit and vegetables that occurred in the last decade of the nineteenth century, Steinbeck identified the roots of the nation's first modern migrant agricultural labor force, comprised of workers who followed the varied crops up and down the state.

> At this season of the year, when California's great crops are coming into harvest, the heavy grapes, the prunes, the apples and lettuce and the rapidly maturing cotton, our highways swarm with migrant workers, that shifting group of nomadic, poverty-stricken harvesters driven by hunger and the threat of hunger from crop to crop, from harvest to harvest, up and down the state. . . . [85]

This pattern continued in the 1930s but the cast of characters changed as a result of the collapse of agriculture in the Midwest. From 1935 to 1938, between three-hundred and five-hundred thousand "Okies" arrived in California. In an attempt to aid farmers, government polices created under the Agricultural Adjustment Act displaced thousands of tenant farmers and sharecroppers. The A.A.A paid owners to take land out of production; the result was large-scale unemployment. Contrary to past farm labor practice, where the migrant worker was a single, male, footloose "bindlestiff," workers now came with their families.

Steinbeck was optimistic about the change white migrant workers would bring to the complexion of an industry that had historically exploited the ethnic minorities. With "this new race the old methods of repression, of starvation wages, of jailing, beating . . . are not going to work." White workers, aware of their democratic rights, would refuse to accept the role of "field peon, with attendant terrorism, squalor and starvation."

> And there is another difference between their old life and the new. They have come from the little farm districts where democracy was not only possible but inevitable, where popular government, whether practiced in the Grange, in church organization or in local government, was the responsibility of every man.[86]

Unfortunately, the "Okies" were reluctant to organize or use political methods to bring change for a variety of reasons. Many were unwilling to identify with the minority worker; they understood their personal plight as temporary. Most significant, Midwestern workers found it difficult to give up their traditional rural individualism.

Not all farm labor placidly accepted the status quo. For decades voices had been raised in protest against unfair, inhumane treatment. Methods used to control discontent circumvented the law of the land and left the law in the hands of vigilantes. Steinbeck reported that labor's adversaries were well entrenched. Where physical intimidation was deemed inappropriate, economic methods accomplished the same purpose.

> The large farms in California are organized as closely and are as centrally directed in their labor policy as are the industries and shipping, the banking and public utilities. Indeed such organizations as Associated Farmers, Inc. have as members and board members officials of banks, publishers of newspapers and politicians; . . .they have interlocking associations with shipowners' associations, public utilities corporations and transportation companies.
>
> It is rare in California for a small farmer to be able to plant and mature his crops without loans from banks and finance companies. And since these banks and finance companies are at once members of the powerful growers' associations, and at the

> same time the one source of crop loans, the force of their policies on the small farmer can readily be seen. To refuse to obey is to invite foreclosure or a future denial of the necessary crop loan.[87]

Alma did not hear the dilemma of small farmers expressed in these terms. In conversations within the Mennonite Brethren Youth group, Alma heard the group leader articulate the Biblical advice "to be in the world, but not of the world."

> ALMA: He said the world was too wicked. We can not live our ethics in the world. We have to play the dirt the way the dirt is. We live our own clean lives among ourselves; this was the attitude. . . . And all of that left me dissatisfied. But I was still very loyal to the church. I taught the Sunday school class. Took the boys to the house (chuckle) and taught them three part harmony.[88]

Alma's ability to teach music and coax participation from children was not limited to church. In her first year at Maple School Alma began teaching third grade students three part harmony. Word of her expertise reached the Superintendent of the county schools who "called me in and wanted me to supervise music and art in the schools of Kern County."[89] Alma graciously declined the offer; she preferred the classroom.

COMPLETING UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION - USC, 1935

Alma stayed in the classroom year round during the next three out of four years. When classes finished at Richland School in June, she commenced summer school at University of Southern California in Los Angeles to complete undergraduate studies. In the spring of 1935, Alma attended a class offered by Dr. Calvert, Kern County Schools Guidance Consultant. Much to Alma's amazement, Dr. Calvert strongly recommended that she enroll in classes at USC taught by Dr. Clyde C. Hill, a visiting professor from Yale University, and his protege, Dr. John S. Brubacher. "And Calvert wanted me to be in that [adminstrators'] class and I didn't even have my degree!"[90]

The summer school class with Dr. Hill was unlike other educational classes

that Alma attended. "It was a different concept of learning. A different concept of the way we think, the way we learn, the concept of language."[91] At UCLA Alma had intuitively accepted the "how," the practical application of John Dewey's theories. It was neither the time nor the place for her to examine the philosophical basis of his arguments. Now, at age twenty-nine with six years of classroom experience, Alma was ready to examine the "why."

When the school year ended in June 1935, Alma told her principal, Mr. Olsen, of her decision not to return to Richland in the Fall. Instead, she would spend the next year completing her undergraduate studies and satisfying the requirements for a Secondary Credential at the University of Southern California.

> ALMA: It was still the Depression, 1935, and my principal at Richland was sure that if I left that school to go to school, I would have a very hard time getting a job. He said, for instance, "if you came back after a year, I would give you only a beginning salary because I can get another teacher for that. And that's all you would get. Why do you go? You don't have to go." Mr. Olson warned Alma: "You're going to be in trouble. Nobody will believe that you didn't have trouble here. They'll think that you were a trouble maker."[92]

Alma was undeterred at the prospect of name calling. She was ready and eager to make a move. If she was jumping into trouble, the university seemed a safe place to land. At a later time, when Alma reminisced about significant milestones in her career.

> ALMA: That Richland School in Shafter, California, now seems a landmark along the way, pinpointing people that made a difference in my life (Aunt Martha, Miss Taggard, Tina Dinas, Louise Neufeld); events such as Dickinson's poetry that enriched my whole life, along with early music experiences that in turn lead on into major turning points in my career.[93]

The most enriching classes which Alma encountered during her very busy year in Los Angeles were with Fine Arts Professor Von Koerber, Music Professor William Hartshorn, and Education Professor Clyde C. Hill and his protégé, John S. Brubacher. In Alma's view, the intellectual philosophy of John Dewey permeated

the presentation of all the subject matter. Dewey's book, *Art and Experience,* defines the esthetic:

> A work of art elicits and accentuates this quality of being a whole and of belonging to the larger, all-inclusive, whole which is the universe in which we live. This fact, I think, is the explanation of that feeling of exquisite intelligibility and clarity we have in the presence of an object that is experienced with esthetic intensity. It explains also the religious feeling that accompanies intense esthetic perception. We are, as it were, introduced into a world beyond this world which is nevertheless the deeper reality of the world in which we live in our ordinary experiences. We are carried out beyond ourselves to find ourselves. I can see no psychological ground for such properties of an experience save that somehow, the work of art operates to deepen and to raise to great clarity that sense of an enveloping undefined whole that accompanies every normal experience. This whole is then felt as an expansion of ourselves . . . . Where egotism is not made the measure of reality and value, we are citizens of this vast world beyond ourselves, and any intense realization of its presence with and in us brings a peculiarly satisfying sense of unity in itself and with ourselves.[94]

For the rest of her life Alma has never been without a heightened awareness of what Dewey describes here as the esthetic experience. Alma left USC with a new vision of literature, music, painting--all the arts--as revelatory of the human condition, and for her, touched by the Divine. The earlier experience of unity in Great Deer provided a basis for "feeling" as "knowing." Alma experienced the esthetic in listening to the Mennonite Brethren choirs, especially listening to her aunties sing at the Saengerfests. On the "vast, vast prairie" Alma experienced the "religious feeling that accompanies intense esthetic perception." Although Alma had an awareness of her feelings, she had no language to name "a world beyond this world."

Now as a full time student at USC, the Alma found her intellect challenged. Her classes in music provided a theoretical base for classical and contemporary musical composition. The Fine Arts class, Symbolism and Mythology of the Orient, gave her a glimpse into the legitimacy of a new belief system. Philosophical discussions of Dewey's intellectual basis of "knowing" supplied the foundation for an

interest in epistemology which led to doctoral studies twenty years later. Taking time off to attend school was exactly the right thing for Alma to do for herself. Not only did the adventure validate what she already knew to be "true to experience," but beyond that, Alma received a fresh understanding of a deeper, richer, safer world in which she could contribute.

Armed with a brand new Bachelor of Science Degree and a Secondary Teaching Credential, Alma returned to Kern County to seek employment in the summer of 1936. Mr. Olsen's prediction's rang in her ears as she did indeed have difficulty finding work.

> ALMA: Well, they didn't want to take chances on any teachers who might have too much of an independent idea. And if I was willing to walk out during that time, I must be one of those kinds of people.[95]

HAWTHORNE SCHOOL, BAKERSFIELD 1936-1938

Unable to find work in Shafter or Wasco, Alma was hired to teach at Hawthorne Elementary School in Bakersfield, California, twenty miles south of Shafter. Mr. Chenoweth, Superintendent of Schools in Bakersfield, heard Alma and her sisters sing at a PTA meeting at Richland School a year or so earlier. He hired her because: "When I saw you and your sisters having so much fun with that song, I thought there is a good teacher. I want you."[96]

> ALMA: Oh, it was beautiful job. Oh, what a time I had! Mrs. Nell Farnham (Principal of the school) was another delight. She did everything. She was interested in me. She was interested in every teacher there. She was interested in every little kid. And she was always out there on the yard talking. When we were on the yard, she was out watching to make sure things were right. And then talking with us, and laughing, and chuckling, and wanted to know how we were doing.[97]

Alma greatest satisfaction at Hawthorne School was helping the children learn to appreciate music. She began with the eighth grade.

> ALMA: . . .and then pretty soon, I was doing a boy's choir. Oh, and they were so

> darling. I was doing three part with them, with the sixth, seventh, eighth. . . I was doing two and three part harmony and sight reading [with second graders]. . . . And I had a name, I had a name. And our Art Supervisor, she was a lovely person. We were doing some music when she came in . . . and she said "I want to be here. I want to know what you are doing." . . . I had myself a glorious time.[98]

Mrs. Farnham called Alma into her office one day in the spring of 1938 and advised her that a new high school was opening in East Bakersfield. The new school was in need of a teacher for German, History and Music. The principal knew that Alma had strengths in those areas, plus a Secondary Credential. So, she arranged an interview between Alma and Mr. Kenneth Rich, the high school principal. When the interview ended, Alma had a new job.

As Mr. Olson at Richland had warned Alma before she left to attend USC, now Mr. Chenoweth repeated the cautionary advice. He said, "there was a great big difference between high school and elementary teaching. And since I was successful in the elementary schools, . . .I could move in this area. Whereas, here [high school] I jumped over into a whole new other world. I was taking a real chance. . . . I said, 'Thank you, I was willing to take that chance.' So that was it."[99]

EAST BAKERSFIELD HIGH SCHOOL - 1938 -1942

Alma was present when East Bakersfield High School opened its doors in 1938. Because Mr. Rich felt "music people are a part of the Public Relations job," Alma received all the support she needed. She taught girls' and boys' glee club, choral, and music listening. She taught first and second year German "and because I believed in learning language by way of literature, . . . I had them listening to the Till Eulenspiegel and we read the *Muenchauser Tales* which reflect the Till story."[100]

Alma had a "huge" class in freshman World History. She wished to imitate the teaching style of one of her instructors, Dr. Early at USC, who brought together history and the arts of the period in order to give the class a sense of the "whole."

> ALMA: And since I was [a History] Minor, I thought I should be able to do that with my History freshman class. But there was no time, so I never felt very happy. I was required to fulfill the requirements of using that particular text. I did try to bring in a few little things, but it certainly wasn't the way I wanted to teach.[101]

The migrant children of high school age became a concern for Alma. She had disapproved of separating students in elementary school, and when she was presented with an opportunity to confront the issue in high school, she did so. A young migrant girl requested admission to regular classes. "So I went to Mr. Rich who was also very ready. We're a new school. We can do things a new way." Mr. Rich agreed to include migrant students with the rest of the student body. The freshman girl who sought Alma's advocacy did "beautifully" in class. "When I was in the East I read a little article that was written by this girl, who had become a woman. And she had become a spokesman and was pleading that this is what they [the schools] should be doing, and what it meant to her."[102] Dewey wrote in Democracy and Education:

> Such social divisions as interfere with free and full intercourse react to make the intelligence and knowing of members of the separated classes one-sided. . . . A society which makes provision for participation in the good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic.[103]

> ALMA: I have found, that where you have a wide mix of many different ways of learning, and levels of knowing, and background, and experience, you bring them together and have them do a lot of work together on common goals and interests. They pick up from each other all the time and all of them gain more. The leaders, when they don't have to compete, can lead. . . . The ones who would likely straggle are encouraged to ask for help, because they are not put down because they don't know as much.[104]

Alma's most memorable experience at East Bakersfield High School occurred in the spring of 1942. Not surprisingly, it was related to music. The quality of materials available from the State Department of Education for musical instruction and participation was outstanding. "In Music Appreciation I immedi-

ately gathered up a very good collection of the best records. . . and I was getting more every year." With such excellent resources at the disposal of the class, Alma enthusiastically tried to encourage students who had no interest in classical music to reconsider their bias. "Little by little, the class got started. And then they began to trust me. . . ."[105]

At the time, 1941-42, there was activity in Bakersfield to organize a Music Association in collaboration with the local Junior College. One night Alma dreamed that John Charles Thomas, a performer of international repute, was coming to perform in Bakersfield. She was convinced that if her students could hear an artist of this caliber in a live performance, they would have a deeper appreciation for the music than could be experienced in a classroom. In Alma's dream scenario, John Charles Thomas came to school and sang superbly for her students. Afterwards the students rapturously declared, "Oh, I like that!" Alma responded, "Well, do you know you have very good taste because he is an artist?"[106]

Two days later, Alma learned from a friend in town that John Charles Thomas was coming to perform in Bakersfield! She was in a state of shock. "And I said, 'Oh, wonderful!' because I thought to myself, two days ago I had a dream. How am I going to get my kids really caught up in that music?"[107] Alma managed to persuade the Music Association to supply the high school students with $1.00 tickets. But to keep them out of the way, Mr. Clark from the Junior College placed the students in the orchestra pit. Alma had a seat far up in the balcony.

> ALMA: So here we were at the concert. I had a seat way up high in the balcony. The kids were down there. House was full. He starts to sing and I thought what is happening? By now I was so high I thought I don't think that I know what is going on, because I can't separate what is happening from my imagination. Because it seems to me as though he is singing down to those kids. And that can't be. So, in the intermission I ran down there and these kids, "Oh, Miss Gloeckler!" They were so excited! And they said, "He sings to us! He sings to us!"[108]

A woman in the audience, in one of the front rows, insisted that Alma exchange seats with her so that as "their teacher," Alma could enjoy the full flavor of the event. When the performance ended, the students went backstage, got autographs and were absolutely "gleeful" about the entire adventure. As for Alma: ". . . it was such a miracle to me, the dream part and then this. And not pushing - it just happened. It was just allowed to happen."[109]

That was not the end of the story. Fifteen years later in New York City Alma learned from her friend, Madge Martin, that their mutual friend, Mr. Dan Gilson, was in the company of John Charles Thomas when the performer responded to a question about the high points in his career. After he answered he added, "and then, there was that teacher in Bakersfield." Mr. Gilson told Madge, "I know that must have been Alma."

AGRIBUSINESS IN CALIFORNIA

During the years Alma lived in Bakersfield, she often went home to Shafter. On one of her visits, she was surprised and dismayed to find the family eating "nothing but sweet potatoes."

> ALMA: And I said to Dad, "Why don't you take a load full of your sweet potatoes and go to the Los Angeles market and trade them in for a variety of vegetables and food." So he did that several times. But they were sort of down and out. None of that innovation--Dad could have thought of that himself, you know. It was such a dragged out time.
>
> Some of our big farmers went to Washington and had new laws enacted giving new farm assistance based on certain crops in certain years. Then it looked very much as if they were fixing it to their years, because Dad was always losing the little allotment he had. So that he hardly made it--while these big guys were opening up great big new tracts of land.[110]

The first study completed on the subject of the social consequences of agribusiness, *As Ye Sow,* was researched by Walter Goldschmidt between 1940 and

1941 in Kern County, California. Goldschmidt examined what happened when the "big farmers went to Washington" and analyzed the impact of the "new laws" passed as a result. Although the focus of Goldschmidt's work was on Kern County, the report's conclusions had national significance. Intense political opposition to revealing the results of the study delayed publication until 1947.[111]

An important element in the rise of agribusiness was the Agricultural Adjustment Act (1933), a part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program. The A.A.A. introduced the notion of price support, or "parity," to relieve the economic hardship experienced by the agricultural industry as a consequence of the Depression. Under the A.A.A.'s acreage reduction program, the subsidies farmers received to keep land out of production were determined by parity pricing. "Parity is the concept of a 'proper' ratio between farm commodities and other goods on the market. A parity price is that price which meets this standard of equity between farm and non-farm goods."[112] The index was set according to price levels between 1910 and 1914, when farm commodity prices had been relatively high.

According to T.W. Schultz, if the purpose of the program was to "redistribute wealth among farm people," it failed because of the emphasis placed on the "welfare of an industry." Agriculture was now "entitled" to special consideration as a result of the "sentimental appeal of an earlier time." It is interesting to note that farm welfare differed from social welfare in two respects. One, it was not necessary to show "need" in order to collect. And secondly, because individual need was not a factor in receiving farm assistance, there was no social stigma attached to the payments. The program erroneously assumed that farmers were homogeneous, socially and economically.[113]

The *Shafter Press* provided an illustration of the existing disparity in its

description of the Kern County Land Company. "The 'empire' while not quite as large as Britain, is one of the biggest hunks of rich and relatively undeveloped land, owned by a single company in the United States."[114] Kern County Land Company received the largest A.A.A. payments in the state in 1937 and 1938. Camp-West-Lowe Farms, also located in Kern County, was a close second in 1938.

Goldschmidt maintained that given the existing state of affairs in California, the A.A.A. might not have worsened conditions but it failed to bring relief where it was needed most urgently. The large-scale farming operations in California negated the possibility of any equitable distribution of relief subsidies. Although the 1933 A.A.A. was declared unconstitutional in 1936, a second act of the same name, passed in 1938, continued to benefit the large landholder. The small farmer in the state remained at the mercy of an antiquated system of land distribution. Any attempt to equalize conditions in agriculture was historically doomed to failure.

> The reason for this failure [of the program] lies in the fundamental misconception that is at the philosophical root of the program; the misconception that results from directing a farm program in terms of a fallacious stereotype rather than social reality.[115]

As a "social reality," the ripple effect of Roosevelt's New Deal farm policy of crop reduction was felt by everyone in agriculture. Unfortunately, rather than assisting those most in need, it limited employment opportunities for sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and laborers. To make matters worse, the "Okies" who came into California by the hundreds of thousands in the 1930s entered a labor market without benefit of the gains made by industrial labor during the same era. Goldschmidt wrote:

> The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 exempts farm labor from its provisions. . . . Workers engaged in purely agricultural pursuits were excluded from both the old-age and the unemployment insurance programs under the Social Security Act of 1935. . . . The Wagner Act, which protects the bargaining and unionization rights of workers

> likewise excludes farm workers. . . . Wage ceilings were set by an agency attached to the Department of Agriculture, which had always devoted itself to the interest of the farm operators. . . . Special draft exemptions and labor importation both served to maintain artificially a large supply of farm workers--a protection that no other industry, however basic to the war effort, received.[116]

More recent scholarship by Cletus Daniel in his book, *Bitter Harvest* (1981), describes the consequences for the farm worker.

> Few workers anywhere in America were laboring under conditions as materially unrewarding, as physically arduous, or as psychologically oppressive as were those employed on California's industrialized farms. [117]

The inequities of land distribution and the plight of migrant workers in California had been public knowledge for decades to anyone who had eyes to see. Goldschmidt's study provided a graphic look at the less visible, more insidious implications of accepted farm policies for the nation. The inquiry began in 1940 when the Federal government chose to conduct a sociological study asking if differences existed in "the character of rural life" between areas dominated by large corporate holdings and those with predominantly family farms. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture asked the question as one of many relating to "the technical, economic and social problems" anticipated by the Central Valley Project.[118]

The Central Valley Project, nearing its first phase of completion in 1940, was a consequence of Theodore Roosevelt's conservation program forty years earlier. Implicit in the Reclamation Act of 1902 was a concern for maintaining traditional farm values. The legislation decreed that "irrigation water developed through federal subsidy must be allocated to lands held in family size units."[119] In 1902, the notion of a Federal program that assured a water supply to family farms in the West was an extension of the reasoning that offered homestead lands decades earlier. The project was to be accomplished through the construction of dams--all a part of

Theodore Roosevelt's commitment to the progressive social policies much in favor at the turn of the century.

Aware of the large land holdings in the West, Congress included a provision in the legislation "to prevent the considerable subsidy incurred in the reclamation program from falling into the hands of a few rich individuals or large corporations." In order to protect the small farmer, an "acreage limitation provision" was written into the law which said that only holdings of 160 acres or less were intended to benefit from the water developed by the federal project. When an owner of a larger tract sold land, his price could not reflect "the incremental land value created by the availability of the irrigation water coming from the project itself."[120]

At issue in the 1940 study was whether or not the law should be applied to the Central Valley Project, a "giant, multipurpose project" bringing water to the San Joaquin Valley. What were the potential social consequences of the acreage limitation provision? Not everyone applauded the government's curiosity: "Most of the land in the area targeted for benefit by the Central Valley Project was in large holdings owned by a few giant corporations."[121] Among them were the Kern County Land Company and the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Goldschmidt, an anthropologist employed by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, was part of a four-member team appointed to study the socio-economic implications of the Central Valley Project. The group was supported by agricultural economists, sociologists and anthropologists within the B.E.A. Goldschmidt and his wife moved to Wasco (where Alma attended high school 1922-25) in the fall of 1940 and stayed nine months until summer, 1941. Goldschmidt's study included twenty-five towns in the San Joaquin Valley; thirteen had larger farm sizes and twelve smaller. A case study compared the "corporate" farming town of Arvin and the

"family" farm town of Dinuba. The team's work came to be called the Arvin/Dinuba study.

Results of the study disclosed that the corporate approach to farming was decidedly inferior to the traditional approach in terms of community well-being. A methodical analysis of data compiled by the team demonstrated with no equivocation that small farms afford a better standard of living. By extension, the towns that service these rural populations offer a better quality of life. In economic terms: "the 13 towns with the larger farm size support a population of 9.6 persons per 100 acres, whereas the 12 towns with the smaller farms supported a population of 15.1 persons per 100 acres."[122] The study appeared to substantiate old allegations about absentee landowners concerned only with maximizing investment profits. Where farming profits were not plowed back into the community, civic institutions such as schools, churches, and social organizations were diminished.

This chapter of Alma's story has more than tangential relevance to the Gloeckler family. Maggie and David left Canada so that their children would benefit from all the American educational system had to offer. Their timing was fortuitous. Alma and Myrtle, as models for their younger sisters, encountered a school principal who shared their parents' educational values. Mr. Hill, first principal of Wasco Union High school and educational advocate for Alma and her sisters, was gone from Wasco by 1940. Hill's emphasis on education for its own sake may have been a casualty of the times.

Goldschmidt's study disclosed that by 1940 the social reality of agriculture as business, agribusiness, unquestionably affected education. During the years Alma lived and taught in the Valley, she witnessed the shift in educational emphasis from cultural to vocational. College prep was one of five courses of study offered at

Wasco Union. It is interesting to speculate about the direction of Alma's life had neither church nor school actively supported the family's educational ambitions. As it happened, Maggie and David realized their dream--all seven daughters became university graduates. Mr. Hill would have been proud.

Verification of the social consequences of agribusiness is found in a comment about declining membership after 1954 in a publication of the Gloecklers' Mennonite Brethren Church in Shafter.

> A number of reasons have contributed to this decline. In the early years practically all member families were farmers and the trend was that the young people would continue to make farming their life work. Under present day conditions farming is consolidated into ever larger units until the average farmer can no longer survive. . . [Students] can no longer come back to their home community and find positions for which they are trained. There is a definite trend among all our people to move to the big cities. [123]

Alma Marie Gloeckler was one of those off to the big city of Oakland in the fall of 1942. Earlier that spring, the bulletin board at East Bakersfield High School gave notice of an opportunity to pursue a Teaching Fellow at Mills College in Oakland and receive a Masters degree. "So when I saw that I thought, this is a very good time for me to consider this possibility" because "I wanted to move ahead into directions I was interested in."[124] In spite of the uncertainty that existed in a nation at war, Alma was sufficiently discouraged at the direction of education in the valley to seek change.

By now, she was no stranger to new situations. From the time Alma began teaching in 1928 until she left Bakersfield in 1942, she taught in four different schools on two different levels. In 1935, she stepped away from school for a year in order to complete her undergraduate studies and to receive a Secondary Teaching Credential. For Alma the move to Mills was the continuation of a pattern begun twenty years earlier. She herself related her behavior to that of her Mennonite

ancestors. They never settled anywhere permanently and, beyond a simple nostalgia for other times and places, the moves did not appear to cause deep regret. Moving on brought new opportunities.

CURRENT FAMILY HISTORY, 1942

When Alma left the San Joaquin Valley, her sisters were either married, working or attending college. Myrtle and Frances married into Mennonite Brethren families and remained in the Valley. There were now six grandchildren to bring delight to Maggie and David. Teena replaced Alma at East Bakersfield High School that year. Teena wrote later, "the groundwork had all been laid by Alma, who had developed a record collection the like of which I've never seen in any other school."[125] Melba was working in Los Angeles. Daisy married in the summer of 1942, following her graduation from San Jose State College. Maruth, the youngest in the family, was a sophomore at the same college. With the exception of Maruth, who studied Business, all of Maggie and David's daughters majored in Education.

No dramatic changes occurred in farm life, although David did acquire a small amount of additional acreage. His nephews, sons of brother Charlie, were beginning farm life and David helped with money and advice. Family vacations to California state parks now were replaced by shorter travels to Mount Hermon, a Christian retreat center, in the Santa Cruz Mountains west of San Jose.

With the exception of David's sister, Helena, who died in 1931, the rest of his siblings were alive and well when Alma went north to Mills. However, the grandparents who had played such an important part in Alma's life were gone by 1942. Grandfather Carl Gloeckler died in 1929. Grandmother Marie Wiens Gloeckler remained a widow for two years; she remarried in 1931 and died in 1933.

Grandfather Isbrand Peters joined the Gloeckler family in Shafter in 1925

following the death of his second wife, Katherine Krahn Warkentine Peters. Isbrand stayed with Maggie's family for a few years and then shared an apartment with his daughter, Sue, until 1930 when he entered the Baptist Home for the Aged in Portland, Oregon. Isbrand died in 1935 and was buried in the Rose City Cemetery in that city. The exigencies of the times prevented his burial at the Salt Creek Baptist cemetery that he endowed in 1893. Isbrand left behind a small notebook of genealogical data which contributed in large measure to Alma's readiness to become a family historian.[126]

Maggie's sister, Sue, acquired expertise at packing fruit when she lived with the Gloecklers during the early years in Shafter. In the late 1920s and through the 1930s, Sue supported herself by working at the packing sheds. The Peters brothers, Frank and Jake, experienced great success in agriculture in the early decades of the twentieth century. Life was not as good for younger brother, Peter. Hard times for all came in the mid-20s, and harder still in "the dirty '30s." Frank had difficulty making the transition from good times to bad. He left Canada in the late 20s but his efforts to find employment in the States were unsuccessful. Frank and Minnie divorced and later both remarried. Jake Peters moved his family to Portland, Oregon, in the late 1920s. He had limited success as a building contractor in the States and returned to Canada by the 1940s.

John Peters, Maggie's youngest brother, who stood guard vigilantly when his mother, Agatha, lay dying, remained, in Alma's words, "a lost little boy" for many years. Different farming ventures with brothers Frank, Jake and Pete were unsuccessful. John visited with family members in Canada and the United States doing odd jobs, eventually finding steady work as a house painter. Finally, at age 56 John married and was widowed within a short time. His second marriage in 1955 (at

age 58) to a widow with a family was happy and long lasting.

CHAPTER FOUR

OAKLAND, 1942-1955

When Alma arrived on campus in 1942, big changes were underway. After twenty-six years as President of Mills College, Dr. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt was preparing to step down as President. During her tenure, Dr. Reinhardt preserved the tradition of academic excellence established by Cyrus and Susan Mills for whom the school was named.

The school that became Mills College was founded in 1852 as the Young Ladies' Seminary in Benecia, California. As the first school to offer higher education for women on the west coast, Mills was a "consecrated undertaking for the higher culture of young women."[1] The Seminary represented a pioneering effort to provide educational opportunities equal to those offered in the East.

With people from around the world pouring into California in 1851, education was a genuine concern for families. An editorial in the *Pacific,* a newspaper devoted to religious and educational interests, revealed misgivings about the future of academia in the state.

> In California there is too much self-seeking, too much haste, too little stability, too much of the individual, too little of the social, too much of the present, too little of the future, for us to expect at once action based upon the duty and necessity of a work so humble in beginning, so quiet and unselfish in its operations, so universal and lasting in its benefits.[2]

The Seminary was first in the hands of a board of trustees. Then in 1855 Miss Mary Atkins, a graduate of Oberlin College, became proprietor and principal. Miss Atkins' Alma Mater was itself a pioneer as the "first college in the nation to open its doors, even a crack, to women."[3] During a trip to Hawaii in 1864, Mary Atkins met Dr. Cyrus Taggart Mills and his wife, Susan Tolman Mills. The Millses had worked abroad for twenty years as missionaries and were ready to return home to the United States. Arrangements made between Miss Atkins and the Millses provided

for the couple to assume ownership of the Young Ladies' Seminary in 1865.

Five years after the Millses became proprietors, the school relocated onto property owned by Dr. Mills. Not far from Benecia, the new site was across the Carquinez Strait in the foothills of Alameda County, six miles from the small town of Oakland. A school catalog presented Mills College's objectives: "To train healthy, companionable, self-reliant women--those prepared to be useful and acceptable in the school, in the family and in society."[4]

Susan Tolman Mills was a graduate of Mount Holyoke College in South Hadley, Massachusetts. Mount Holyoke, founded in 1837 by Mary Lyon as a school for women, trained its students for the mission fields. Additionally, Miss Lyon made her scholars aware of the enrichment of education in daily life.

> Some of you will be disappointed perhaps when you get home. You will find humble work to do--washing dishes, darning stockings for your brothers and sisters, and you will say, "Was it for this that I studied higher mathematics and Butler's Analogy?" Did you ever stand by a little lake and drop in a pebble and watch the circles as they widened and widened and were lost in the distance? Lift your mother's burden, help with the little brother and sister. You may not see the result, but be sure your influence will widen and widen into eternity.[5]

Susan Tolman was a personal friend and great admirer of Mary Lyon. "Next to the training I received from a godly father and mother I owe more than I can express to Mary Lyon. Not a day of my life passes that I do not put into practice something I learned from her."[6] It was Mary Lyon who introduced Susan Tolman to Cyrus Mills after she learned of his request to meet a young woman "who would be willing to give her life and service to education work in Ceylon."[7] Mills Historian Rosalind Keep wrote that the result was "a very happy marriage."

In California the Millses invested their energies and imagination in answering the call that came "from the fathers and the mothers of the mining camps, the mountain hamlets, the arid desert towns, from every far-away settlement within

the confines of this vast state . . . . 'Take our daughters, prepare them for the work awaiting them in the home, in the school room, in church affairs; make of them useful, progressive, intelligent women.'"[8]

The standards and ideals established by Cyrus and Susan Mills were firmly in place when Aurelia Henry Reinhardt assumed the Presidency of the college in 1916. President Reinhardt, born in San Francisco, completed her undergraduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley, and took her advanced studies at Yale, earning a Ph.D. in 1905. In addition to traditional learning, President Reinhardt declared early in her tenure that academic persons "must reach outside the campus for life understanding."[9] Cyrus and Susan Mills would have approved. When Reinhardt arrived on campus, Mills College personified the former missionaries' zeal which fostered an interest in national and international good will.

Reinhardt put her own mark on the college through her unrelenting efforts to gain the academic recognition required for a growing institution. In November of 1917, Mills was elected to membership in the Association of American Universities and Colleges. Reinhardt's continuing fund-raising efforts and her establishment of a loyal alumnae association proved beneficial to the school. The new President sought the best she could find in faculty members, some of whom remained at Mills throughout Reinhardt's long tenure (1916-1943). At least four of Alma's instructors were in this category: Dr. Ethel Sabin Smith, Dr. Willard M. Smith, Dr. George Hedley, and Dr. Rosalind Cassidy.

The Graduate Division appeared in December 1920. The first elementary and secondary teaching credentials were conferred in 1921. A Master of Education degree was first conferred in 1929. By 1926 Mills College had five undergraduate schools: Fine Arts, Social Sciences, Language and Literature, Natural Sciences and

Mathematics, and Education.

Each School was headed by an officer described as a Convenor. Individual Schools became the initiators of curricular change and in so doing gained autonomy and authority. The faculty "jealously guarded the prerogative of approving or rejecting proposed new courses." Decisions reached in the School meetings obviated the need to go "higher in the academic pyramid."[10]

In 1934 Dean Rusk (later U.S. Secretary of State) was named Dean of the Faculty. Dean served as moderator for the Institute of International Relations, an activity jointly conducted by Mills and the American Friends Service Committee. The Institute held its first session on campus in summer 1935; Mrs. Reinhardt was a member of the Executive Committee. According to biographer George Hedley, Aurelia Henry Reinhardt attended the meetings faithfully.[11] Lively debates on foreign affairs and foreign policy pitted interventionists against pacifists as Hitler prepared for war. One local attendee was Mrs. Josephine Duveneck, a Quaker educator and social activist living in Los Altos. In later years, the Quaker influence at Mills led to a friendship between Josephine and Alma.

Of particular interest to Alma's story was the recent (1940) cancellation of a tutorial program that had been in place since the years of the Depression. A Tutorial Council of seven senior faculty members included the President and two Deans. The Council supervised the tutors who were assigned to each student entering Mills. Tutors were to assist students "in carrying forward college programs by discovering the strength of interest and preparation and initiating maturer methods of work and achievement."[12]

These tutors were able young college graduates, some with advanced degrees. They were not members of the faculty; they conducted no classes and gave

no grades. In exchange for their services they were given free room and board. Although this model was not in place when Alma attended Mills College, the format bears strong resemblance to the Elementary Assistant Program inaugurated by the Oakland Public School system in 1945. Alma ranks her participation in this Oakland project among the highlights of her career.

As a Teaching Fellow, Alma was assigned to assist Sociologist Dr. John Furbay. Her advisor was Rosalind Cassidy, a 1918 Mills graduate who joined the Mills faculty and remained at the college until 1947. Rosalind Cassidy (1895-1980) served as an instructor in the physical education department, assistant to the president, chairman of the physical education department and convenor of the School of Education and Community Services. Her major area of interest was physical education. Cassidy was regarded by her contemporaries as "one of the five or six top minds in the profession."[13] Quite possibly, Dr. Cassidy was influenced in her studies by the abiding interest in physical activity promoted by the Mills from the time the school opened. An early catalog presented the rationale for this innovative program.

> As the present and future health of the young ladies is of the first importance, great pains have been taken, not only to proportion their studies to their strength, but also to develop their physical powers by appropriate exercises, and to observe in every possible way the laws of health. To give strength and vigor to even the most delicate of pupils, there are regular daily exercises in gymnastics. . . . [14]

Before the move from Benecia, every student was expected to walk outdoors at least one mile a day. After the move Mills boasted a large gymnasium that "was one of the most frequented buildings" of the campus. In addition, there were several sets of parallel bars and a baseball field. Students also engaged in dancing and roller skating. This emphasis on physical conditioning reflected the national preoccupation with women's health at the end of the nineteenth century.

Academically, Rosalind Cassidy agreed with John Dewey in that she saw a direct correlation between activity and learning. As a member of the School of Education, Cassidy believed that physical education helped the child learn through the medium of movement. "Movement experiences are essential for optimum child growth and development. Through these experiences a child gains a better understanding of himself, others and the world about him."[15]

And, like Dewey, Cassidy saw the classroom as an opportunity to practice democracy. In an ever-changing world, students need:

> To learn to make generalizations; to think, to reason, to do problem solving, to make decisions on basis of fact and value. To learn how to find and use facts and values in the process of self-directed inquiry and problem solving. To develop experimentalism, creativity, openness to experience. To learn ways to relax and to relieve stress, tension and threatening uncertainties.[16]

To those who said that it was "too idealistic" to teach decision making on the basis of democratic values, Cassidy replied that if society "is seen in the light of the democratic ethic," it is only "practical" to learn democratic skills. The practical and the ideal become one. The need to compromise the ideal in order to achieve practical results is eliminated.[17]

There is no doubt that Dr. Cassidy was in effect "preaching to the choir" where Alma was concerned. Alma's teaching experience among elementary and high school students affirmed such a philosophy. With Dr. Cassidy as advisor during this year of graduate study, Alma received support and validation at a time of personal growth. She heard her own ideas authenticated by a respected educator within an environment that promoted human rights. In Alma's view Mills College provided a strong emphasis upon a woman's involvement in all aspects of life.

> ALMA: We are all human beings in the sense that all of us make decisions and as we make decisions we are then making ourselves and making the world we live in. They [Mills] were very strong on encouraging us to make decisions and make distinctions.[18]

A persuasive argument in favor of women's colleges was the improved opportunities for female students and faculty to participate fully in all phases of the university experience. Reinhardt's biographer, George Hedley, wrote that Reinhardt was not a feminist. Her appointments reflected a "healthy indifference" to gender and demonstrated "her primary concern with scholarship and good teaching."[19] When Reinhardt took office in 1916 the faculty included twenty-four women and eight men. That three-to-one ratio was less than two to one in 1942-43; the faculty included sixty-three women and thirty-eight men.

Intellectually, one area of growth for Alma was the emphasis placed on interdisciplinary study. She was first introduced to this teaching method at USC when Dr. Early used the Humanities to enrich a History course. At Mills the faculty decided to inaugurate this approach by including four graduate students, four undergraduates, and four faculty members in a discourse of learning. "They wanted to distribute the course backgrounds as much as they possibly could." The group of twelve met twice a week and for Alma this "opened a great big door all at once to the field of human knowledge."[20] This study provided a base for Alma's later studies at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.

Alma graduated from Mills College with a Master of Arts degree, June 13, 1943. Her advisor, Dr. Cassidy, encouraged her pupil to seek employment in the nearby Oakland Public School system. Cassidy was familiar with the city's schools through Bernice Baxter, Ph.D., Assistant Superintendent of Schools. Cassidy and Baxter collaborated on a small book, *Group Experiences,* published that year. Dr. Baxter worked in the Oakland schools before and after taking an advanced degree at Yale University (1935). In 1941, as Coordinator of Instruction, Baxter wrote *Teacher Pupil Relationships,* another concise work, reprinted six times by 1950. In

1945, as Administrative Assistant, Baxter collaborated with Oakland teacher, Thad Stevens, in a book for children, *Introduction to Global Geography.*

These three works share a common theme which was at the very heart of the authors' concern for American education. In *Group Experiences,* Baxter and Cassidy wrote:

> It is that all peoples of the earth are now as never before and quite certainly for all future time closely interrelated and dependent upon one another for all the necessities of a civilized modern society. . . . All people must be educated in the understanding and skills which make men more able to behave in cooperative ways.[21]

Baxter underlined this theme in *Teacher Pupil Relationships:*

> The school, if it is to educate for democratic living, will have to assist each pupil to find his place in the group and to become a contributing member of group enterprise. The pupil must acquire as he matures an understanding of the values of democracy as compared with the values of the various forms of autocracy.[22]

And Baxter and Stevens, *Introduction to Global Geography:*

> New maps are necessary for the study of this busy world which seems smaller today because of changes brought about by science . . . . If we are to understand the world in which we live, we must become familiar with all regions of the world and the way in which they are bound together.[23]

It comes as no surprise that Alma quickly became as admiring of Bernice Baxter as she was of Rosalind Cassidy. And why not? They sang the song that Alma learned as a child about the profound significance of community life. Now in a different time and place, she heard a new melody, perhaps, but the lyrics were unchanged. The value of the individual remained a constant; but instead of the homogenous community of co-religionists, this new view included a more global, diversified community. Cassidy and Baxter chose a selection by Antoine de Saint Exupery for the frontispiece of the book. The choice could easily have been Alma's. "My love of the group has no need of definition. It is woven of bonds. It is my substance. I am of the group and the group is of me."[24]

THE OAKLAND PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1943

Alma's first teaching position in Oakland was at the Horace Mann School. She remained at the school from 1943 to 1947; she recalls the years as "good" ones. A satisfactory course was charted the first day. That sunny September morning Alma met an assistant who spoke to every new teacher personally. He knew all about each one; he welcomed "our contribution to the system."

> ALMA: And then he said, "We are interested, of course, in the best possible education for all children." But he said, "There is a prior commitment. There is a prior concern that we have now. Many of these children are living in very unsettled times and the only, the only respite they have is the time they have here with you in this classroom. So keep that in mind and recognize that it is an opportunity for you to bring something to these children." That was the quality of schools we had at that time.[25]

Mr. Dan Gilson, principal of the school, epitomized the innovation which in Alma's view was the life's blood of education. Gilson and his family lived on a farm outside the city. "And when he knew I was doing a farm unit, oh, he gave me the kind of help--no teacher has ever had better help than he gave me!"[26] Gilson actually brought his cow to school and Alma milked the cow to demonstrate to the city children that store-bought milk really did come from cows!

Heady with the success of that endeavor, Gilson had another idea. "You know I have chickens too and I'll put up a setting hen for you if you want." Of course, Alma was delighted. "And these children, oh my goodness, how they responded!" A large cage was set up in one corner of an adjacent hallway. The children were cautioned not to be too noisy around the mother hen. "First we wrote, and wrote, and wrote, and talked and spelled, and read, and had to tell everybody." The children made their own rules about visiting with the mother hen while Alma proceeded with her lessons. "And I learned about what children see and how fresh experience is for them when it comes to living things."[27]

> ALMA: [When a little chick appeared] from then on the stories just got richer and richer . . . . These were children that were poor verbally. They were not talking very much. You know, children whose parents are very busy, just don't learn to talk very well. Well, they certainly had a lot to tell![28]

> ALMA: And there were such marvelous paintings . . . . We turned chairs upside down and put boards on top and that was our easel. Now I had an idea that I was not going to teach children how to draw or paint because I am not an artist and I am not about to do patterns. But I was going to help them find out how to use the materials. . . . and I had such good paintings out of that chicken story, that I kept them. [29]

The students Alma greeted each day were often the "latch key children" of working parents employed in the lucrative war industries; many had come to California in the mass migration often referred to as the "second California gold rush." Prior to World War II the federal government selected Oakland and Alameda for military installations as part of the rearmament program. Oakland was a logical choice as a distribution center because three transcontinental railroads terminated in the city. Construction of the Alameda Naval Air Station and a Naval Supply Base began in 1938. Marilyn S. Johnson in her study *The Western Front: World War II and the Transformation of West Coast Urban Life,* reported that by the end of 1940 the Federal government had spent over sixty million dollars in construction of these facilities and hired thousands of military and civilian personnel to staff them.[30]

World War II marked the beginning of the Bay Area's reliance on direct Federal government employment. For the first time, the Federal government offered more jobs than the state and local governments combined. Shipbuilding was a major source of the wartime industrial growth. As the nation's number one ship-building center, the Bay Area received between four and five billion dollars in contracts from the Navy and U.S. Maritime Commission. Employment at Bay Area shipyards was at its peak in 1943 when Alma began her teaching career in

Oakland.[31]

The workers necessary to operate the war machine arrived in successive waves of migration. Prior to Pearl Harbor, both organized labor and local government discouraged the migration of unskilled workers. "They feared that these workers, like the depression-era 'Okie' migrants, would become a burden on county relief rolls."[32] However, once the United States entered the war, discrimination against unskilled labor noticeably diminished. The assembly-line mass production essential in shipbuilding negated the earlier bias. Employers, such as Kaiser, sent recruiters to the Midwest to hire workers needed at their Oakland shipyard. "Kaiser alone brought in 37,852 and another 60,000 came on their own with recruiter referrals."[33]

The population of the Bay Area increased 25.9% between 1940 and 1945. Growth in Oakland was not as extreme as in neighboring Richmond, but Bay Area communities in general were ill-equipped to meet the primary need for affordable housing.[34] Housing became the focus for racism expressed toward the large number of black workers from the Southwestern states of Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas. Blacks were not a part of the first wave of migrant workers. They came when the defense industries provided the financial means to relocate. In Oakland and Berkeley black residents doubled; in Richmond they increased over twenty-fold.[35]

By May 1943 the conservative *Oakland Observer* announced that blacks were patronizing "downtown Oakland restaurants where formerly no local Negro every dreamed of going . . . now we see Negroes all over the place."[36] Tensions also existed between the new arrivals and black old-timers who held the newcomers responsible for resurgent racism. Unmarked racial boundaries accepted by the

relatively small population of long-time black residents now became apparent and placed an additional strain on community relations.

The Lanham Act of 1940 provided for the initiative of local government in applying for and administering specific programs to meet community needs. Family housing was the most critical exigency. Federal and local authorities agreed it should be of a temporary nature for several reasons. One, it could be rapidly assembled with a minimum of priority materials. Two, the housing would be removed promptly at war's end so that it would not hinder postwar private construction.[37]

Oakland housing officials rationalized the construction of segregated housing as necessary because of "the influx of Southern whites." City officials evidently hoped to reduce interracial contacts and defuse tension by permitting segregation in local neighborhoods. Johnson quoted political commentator Carey McWilliams who remarked at the war's end, "The Federal government has in effect been planting the seeds of Jim Crow practices throughout the region under the guise of 'respecting local attitudes.'"[38] Sociologist Charles S. Johnson observed that Southern migrants had to adjust to a racial system of the West "which, though not legally sanctioned, was confusingly similar to Southern segregation."[39]

THE PLIGHT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS DURING WORLD WAR II

During the war years, blacks replaced Asians as the area's largest racial minority. Some of the housing occupied by Afro-American families was only recently vacated by Japanese Americans. The Japanese Americans were incarcerated under Executive Order 9066 signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942. Following the surprise attack by the Japanese on Pearl

Harbor on December 8, 1941, a concern in California was the possibility of sabotage and fifth-column activities by Japanese Americans. On March 18, 1942, Roosevelt created a new agency, the War Relocation Authority, to administer ten detention centers. Milton S. Eisenhower from the Department of Agriculture became the first Director.

Mass evacuation of Japanese Americans on the West Coast was completed by the end of 1942. One hundred thousand Japanese Americans were interned into ten camps in the western U.S. from Heart Mountain, Wyoming, to Tule Lake, California. None of those interned were guilty of any wrongdoing to warrant suspicion of disloyalty. California's history of anti-Asian bigotry made race their only crime. In an earlier effort to drive the Japanese out of agriculture, the California Alien Land Laws of 1913 and 1920 limited, then prohibited the Issei (those born in Japan) from owning or leasing land. The Immigration Act of 1924 excluded the Japanese as "aliens ineligible to citizenship."[40]

In response to E.O. 9066 the Japanese quickly disposed of homes and businesses within the allotted forty-eight hours. Alma was still in the classroom in East Bakersfield when this occurred.

> ALMA: There was another aspect of the war, right here in California particularly, that immediately affected me because of the students in my class. One day all of the little folks in high school, there weren't very many who were of Japanese origin, suddenly weren't there. And I began to hear a lot of ugly gossip which to me didn't seem to make much sense .... Like saying, for instance, "We had this Japanese in our back yard who used to be our gardener, and suddenly he turned on us, and he snarled at us. That's the way they are. You can't trust them." [41]

> ALMA: One of the little girls who was in my chorus came running to me and saying, "I think I can buy a piano for almost nothing cause those Japanese people are moving."[42]

This shocking and shameful treatment of American citizens brought loud criticism from groups as diverse as the American Civil Liberties Union and the

American Friends Service Committee, the Quakers. When Alma began teaching in Oakland, she maintained her connection to Mills through Bernice Baxter and Rosalind Cassidy. One day Alma was surprised by a reference Dr. Baxter made to "local Quakers." At about the same time, a friend told her about a Quaker Meeting House in Berkeley not far from where Alma lived.

> ALMA: When I began to learn that the American Friends Service Committee was actively engaged in social issues of the day and the moment, I then began going to the Meeting House in Berkeley, a little Quaker meeting house. And there I had another huge awakening because here was the pacifism that I had grown up with, actively alert to the moment in the way of conditions that were affecting human beings. Faith, belief, realization, action came together and I joined the Service Committee and worked on housing, on clothing, and general meetings.[43]

One of the remarkable people Alma met through the Quakers was Mrs. Josephine Duveneck (1891-1978). Josephine Whitney Duveneck, the daughter of Henry and Margaret Whitney of Brookline, Massachusetts, was born into the aristocratic tradition of the Boston Brahmins. Her childhood and young adulthood provided her with frequent opportunities for travel and education at home and abroad. In the introduction to Josephine Duveneck's autobiography, *Life on Two Levels,* Wallace Stegner wrote that Josephine "felt herself a misfit in Boston society, dissatisfied with its activities and at odds with its aims."[44] At age 22, Josephine married Francis Boott Duveneck, Jr., son of the famous American artist, Frank Duveneck, Sr.

In her book Josephine Duveneck explains that she and Frank moved to California in 1918 to escape the rigors of New England weather and "considerable pressure from our families about how to bring up our children and organize our social lives."[45] Shortly after the move, Frank was called to military service and Josephine settled in Palo Alto with their three children. As a new resident of the small town, Josephine joined the fledgling Palo Alto Community Center. Soon she

had a seat on the Board and later she served as Chairman. Her work at the Community Center placed Josephine in touch with programs in health, recreation, education, and the arts.

The Duvenecks purchased a one-thousand-acre ranch, Hidden Villa, in Los Altos Hills in 1924. Josephine wrote: "The acquisition of Hidden Villa ranch was probably the most important event in our lives. It had the most momentous consequences for Frank and me, for our children and grandchildren, for our Eastern relatives and for many, many people of the wider community who have shared our hospitable environment."[46] The ranch served as home and a center of social, educational, environmental and humanitarian activities. The Duvenecks offered the ranch as the first Youth Hostel on the West coast. For successive summers, the ranch served as a youth camp for ghetto children from the cities and for Native American children living in rural California. Later, during the war years and after, the ranch served as a sanctuary for relocated Japanese Americans.

Mrs. Duveneck was a deeply spiritual person who remained on a vision quest all the days of her life. Sometime during the 1930s she "became more and more closely connected with the Society of Friends .... To practice the presence of God and to minister to his children in whatever way I could, summarized the way of life that I hoped to fulfill."[47]

The Institutes that Josephine Duveneck attended at Mills College in the mid-1930s led to the establishment of the Friends Center in San Francisco in September 1941. The Bay Area Friends sought to assist Germans and Austrians arriving in California after escaping the holocaust in Europe. Help was needed because the increasing number of immigrants overburdened the resources of Bay Area Jewish organizations. When President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 in February

1942, the Friends used their resources to assist Japanese Americans victimized by a national paranoia.

Following the establishment of the War Relocation Authority, Josephine Duveneck wrote about the "outrage felt by church people, teachers, university presidents like Sproul at Berkeley and Wilbur at Stanford, social workers, county and city officials." All protested by telegrams, letters, and newspaper articles. "It was a shocking reminder that what had happened in Nazi Germany could also happen in democratic America."[48]

Josephine and Alma became acquainted in work accomplished through the Friends Service Committee. The Friends were aware of a need for teachers at Tule Lake, the most restricted of all the relocation camps. During a discussion, Alma realized that "I wanted to go to Tule Lake. And I taught one summer at the concentration camp in Northern California . . . , and it was Josephine Duveneck who helped me get into the camp. And that is another whole, different, and very amazing story . . . ."[49]

TULE LAKE

Tule Lake is a very amazing story. Its history differs from the stories told about the other nine camps. After 1943 Tule Lake was designated as the place for "trouble makers." Those incarcerated at this camp often first mention the guard towers manned by soldiers with machine guns. They remember the death of a young Nisei near the main gate. After the war, to say you were from Tule Lake was to set yourself apart.

Construction for the camp, located on the California/Oregon border in the town of Newell, began on April 20, 1942. The camp opened one month later, May 27, 1942. The population in September, 1942, was 15,279. In an area of fifty square

miles, 32,000 acres, the residents were confined to a district about one and one-quarter square miles and encircled with barbed wire.

At Tule Lake the internees lived in row upon row of tar-paper-covered military barracks. The extremes in temperatures, below freezing in winter and over one hundred degrees in summer, created miserable living conditions. The camp had sixty-four blocks consisting of fourteen barracks each. Nine blocks were grouped together to form a ward and each ward was separated from the others by a 200-foot-wide fire break. There was also an area for the military police, the hospital, the warehouse and factory section, and the administrative section separated from the living quarters by tall fences.[50]

These barracks, no different in design from those in the other western incarceration camps, were thrown together in such haste that it was obvious the well-being of future inmates was of no consequence. The unpartitioned rooms offered little privacy. Large communal bathroom facilities included stalls with no doors. The only furnishings provided were a coal stove, cots, mattresses, and blankets. The internees were allowed to bring only what they could carry from home. One internee wrote:

> I never forgot the sad expression on my mother's face when she first set her eyes upon the barren tar-papered barracks. The bare room with four beds and mattresses and a pot-bellied stove which was to be our home for who knew how long.[51]

Alma was not at the camp in the earliest years. She arrived at Tule Lake in summer of 1945 after the camp was declared a Segregation Center. The federal government made a decision in spring 1943 to segregate the "disloyal" from the "loyal" American citizens among those imprisoned in all ten camps. A questionnaire devised by the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and the U.S. War Department was ostensibly intended to facilitate the student leave clearance process. Before the

Nisei were permitted to leave the camps, the WRA subjected them to a loyalty investigation.

Many groups, including the American Friends, the Committee for Fair Play and American Principles, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Japanese-American Citizens League, and the California Alumni Association, publicly deplored the fact that innocent young people were deprived of the opportunity to continue schooling. The impetus for student relocation came from the Friends Service Committee.

Josephine Duveneck told this part of the story in her autobiography. A Student Relocation Center was established in San Francisco on Sutter Street at the Friends Service office. The Friends worked hard to insure that young people of college age were not to be denied training opportunities. The group screened applicants to determine their major area of interest or talent and sought to obtain scholarships in eastern institutions, to arrange living quarters and means of transportation. All of this was necessary to gain clearance from the Army. Five hundred colleges agreed to accept applicants. After two and one-half years of intensive work, 3500 students were accepted.[52]

The government questionnaire intended to resolve the loyalty issue based its conclusions on the response to two questions.

> Question 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States whenever ordered?
>
> Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attacks from foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor, to any other foreign government, power or organization?[53]

Nisei, the first generation of native-born American citizens, feared that a "yes" answer to Question 27 automatically made them eligible for military service. The dilemma for the Issei, who were not permitted to apply for United States

citizenship, was that a "yes" answer to #28 might leave them without a country. Nisei, as loyal American citizens, felt their patriotism was not the question. Rather, this was a civil rights matter. In response to question 28 some Nisei qualified a "yes" answer. "Yes, IF my rights are restored."

Three Nisei did protest the unconstitutionality of E.O. 9066; the Supreme Court ruled against them. Mitsuru Koshiyama and sixty-two fellow internees at Heart Mountain, Wyoming, were tried, convicted, and jailed in what remains the largest trial of draft resistors in U.S. history.[54]

In all 75,000 internees completed the survey and 12,173 "disloyals" were sent to Tule Lake. Those "loyals" already under confinement at Tule Lake were given the option of transferring out of the camp. This massive reshuffling of some 18,000 internees to and from Tule Lake occurred in September and October 1943. Tule Lake population in December 1944 was 18,789. The 1991 *Tule Lake Pilgrimage Handbook*stated:

> Among those who gave negative and mixed answers were persons who did not want to be forced to move and be separated from their families. There were also many who were embittered by the U.S. government's treatment and developed pro-Japan sentiments.[55]

When Tule Lake became a Segregation Center, Raymond Best, formerly director of the camps for political dissenters at Moab, Utah, and Leupp, Arizona, was appointed the new camp director. He considered those in his camp as "bad apples," and assumed most of them would be deported when the war ended. Block representatives who complained to Best about "overcrowding, bad sanitation conditions, the shortage of milk for the children, and the stealing of food by WRA employees" were rebuked as "traitorous troublemakers."[56]

Tensions in camp increased markedly following the death of an internee in a truck accident in October 1943. The young man's death was allegedly due to WRA negligence. To paraphrase the account presented in the 1991 *Tule Lake Pilgrimage Handbook,* a general strike was called when Camp Director Best would not permit a public funeral. Best brought in strikebreakers. On November l, 1943, Dillon Myer, WRA chief, visited Tule Lake. A mass demonstration of over 5,000 men, women, and children ensued.

Grievances and demands were presented to camp administrators "but the main impact was to send the camp administration into hysterical predictions of massacre by wild Japanese. A rash of resignations by WRA employees resulted and a fence between the internee area and the administration area was rapidly built."[57]

Anticipating a riot by the internees after WRA employees were reported stealing food, WRA internal security, consisting of "army tanks, jeeps with machine guns, and a swarm of armed troops," picked up eighteen internees who were brutally beaten. "All were hospitalized and one was permanently brain damaged after interrogation by WRA Internal Security." Martial law was declared and "Tule Lake became an armed camp crawling with troops, security patrols, and FBI agents." Director Best imposed a curfew from 7:00 P.M. until 6:00 A.M. Schools were closed and recreational activities were halted. Whenever a crowd gathered, tear gas was used to disperse it.[58]

After all of this, a stockade was built within the "Caucasian Area." Very quickly, the area was surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence and guards with machine guns were added to the guard towers. Prisoners in the stockade were held incommunicado, with no medical attention or visits; even mail was withheld. On New Year's Day, with over 200 in the stockade, the first of three hunger strikes

began. The stockade population grew to 350 in the months after the hunger strikes. These events made news with international consequences. "Japan immediately terminated the POW exchange with the U.S." Pressures from the State Department resulted in the release of 276 prisoners from the Tule Lake stockade by late April 1944.[59]

In July a representative from the Northern California ACLU received permission to enter the camp. He complained vigorously about the treatment of the inmates and was thrown out of the camp by Director Best. Finally, ACLU attorney, Wayne Collins, threatened the WRA with a habeas corpus lawsuit. By mid-August the stockade was dismantled. (In 1991, the shell remains standing as the only original building on the camp site.)

As a result of the violence at Tule Lake, Congress passed the Denationalization Act on July l, 1944. This legislation allowed Americans to renounce their citizenship in times of war. It established a mechanism whereby "trouble makers" in the camps could be deported at war's end. For a variety of reasons, including duress, intimidation, or the general confusion of those times at Tule Lake, seven out of ten Nisei renounced their U.S. citizenship. In 1945, as many as 5,000 Nisei at Tule Lake sought to regain their citizenship.[60]

This historical background on Tule Lake is helpful in order to appreciate Alma's courage in volunteering to enter the troubled camp in summer 1945.

> ALMA: When I asked about the bus to Tule Lake, I heard people gasping and looking at me. When I got off the bus at the gate with the big military tower up there, all of the people on the bus gasped, "Where is she going?" . . . it was as if I was walking into a foreign country from then on out.[61]

Alma found personnel from all over the country: "People from the East, social workers and people of social concern, who heard about these things and

decided they wanted to come to one of the worst places."[62] Alma's immediate concern was for the children in the camp.

> ALMA: I had a little third grade. What a time! . . . I offered to do music with the kids cause I heard over the fence some beautiful violins playing . . . . And I don't remember what we sang but one day I started playing what I heard over the fence. And these kids sang along and it sounded just like the violin. They were imitating it. And oh, we started having such a glorious time . . . .[63]

> ALMA: Well, you know, the emptiness and the pain and the suffering, you know, the human need . . . . And so there was a lot of tension and these little children experienced and felt that tension.[64]

Alma spent the summer at Tule Lake. She returned to the Bay Area when classes resumed in September. At Christmas, 1945, she again traveled to the camp to spend her holiday with the children. The following spring Alma met with representatives of the Bay Area Friends Service Committee in San Francisco who questioned her about the experience.

> ALMA: And when I was finished they asked, "Why did you say that you went out of this country, and when you came back to this country. You never were out of the country. You were at Tule Lake." I said, "I didn't know I said that, but that's the way it was."[65]

The camp at Tule Lake officially closed March 20, 1946. A total of 3,186 internees were sent to Japan after the end of World War II. Alma continued her activities with the American Friends, now aiding the Japanese Americans who were re-entering Bay Area communities. Life-long friendships formed with Issei during these years have enriched Alma's life. She and her friends would speak to different church groups who were unable to believe that "there were any Christians [interned] at Tule Lake."[66]

Alma wrote about local behavior and global concerns during this time.

A PICTURE OF A NEWCOMER IN A CHANGING NEIGHBORHOOD

He sits prominent and self-possessed
in the middle of his elevated

aging-paint worn steps
absorbed in the reading of some
pulp-like book.
And all of this is more
than what he's had before.
Quiet and self-possessed
unmoving and absorbed
at home at last with
what is now his own.

While across the street
old, frightened timid wives
tell tales making furtive glances
across the way.

How nearly good and kind is man
and wishing to be good
yet needing just a little help
in times like these
to find the bond of "neighborness"
and build a bridge therewith.

How long till we communicate
as man to common man?
Right now there are so many things
we cannot say to one another
and yet our globe
keeps shrinking.

RELIGIOUS FELLOWSHIP

Alma's sensitivity to the plight of the Asian Americans raised her consciousness about African Americans. Her friend, Bernice Cofer, associated with the Baptist Board of Missions, introduced Alma to another extraordinary personality, black minister Howard Thurman (1900-1981).

Howard Thurman came to San Francisco in July 1944 at the invitation of Dr. Albert Fisk, Professor of Philosophy at San Francisco State College. Fisk, a Presbyterian clergyman, wrote to Thurman at the suggestion of A.J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist group with members in the Bay Area. Dr. Fisk was aware of the many ethnic groups in the Bay area and of the need for their reconciliation. The clergyman had already gathered a small group to form the

Neighborhood Church, "an all inclusive international, intercultural and interracial religious fellowship."[67]

Elizabeth Yates's biography of Thurman, *Notes on Howard Thurman, Portrait of a Practical Dreamer,* revealed his personal philosophy. Thurman said:

> I believe that before God there are no men or women, no races, no Protestants, Catholics or Jews. We are all spirits who, though imperfect, are his children. I believe the church will have to act on this fundamental precept or lose its moral initiative in our troubled world. [68]

In order to establish the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples, Thurman took leave from a teaching position at Howard University, Washington, D.C. He and his family remained in San Francisco nine years. In 1952 he accepted a new appointment as Dean of Marsh Chapel and Professor of Spiritual Disciplines and Resources in the School of Theology at Boston University. In evaluating Thurman's western sojourn, Yates wrote: "In San Francisco he had been more completely at one with his work than ever before .... As pastor of Fellowship Church, he had been provided with continuous opportunity to apply his deepest religious convictions and commitment to the social illness of racial prejudice and discrimination."[69]

Alma attended services at the church from time to time. Local membership grew from thirty upon Thurmond's arrival to over three hundred, with well over a thousand members lending international support. "Caucasians, Negroes, Jews, Japanese, Chinese, Latin Americans, members of many different faiths or of none, were drawn to Fellowship Church."[70]

> ALMA: For instance, shortly after the Issei, Nisei, and Sansei had returned, Bernice [Cofer] thought let's have a big general session of the community. Let's have one of the Japanese women play that gorgeous instrument that is so very Japanese and let's have Howard Thurman come at the same time. And so we did that. And it was an amazing coming together of ourselves as human beings who were going through this crisis together. So much warmth and so much excitement over what Howard Thurman was able to say to us ....[71]

Thurman shared a respect for the individual that clearly echoed the philosophy of Alma's hero, educator John Dewey. Thurman wrote, "To say all you know is to give your listeners the sense that you are not trusting them to do some reaching on their own; it denies something to them that is important."[72] Here again was the familiar notion that Alma treasured from her family's relationship with Reverend David Klaussen and Mr. Marshall decades earlier on the wind-swept prairies of Saskatchewan. A respect for the innate abilities of every individual gave homage to the Creator. Even with the wisdom of Solomon, one could never presume to recreate another.

In political terms, the friends and acquaintances Alma made during the war years represented a coalition of liberal values. In the company of social activists like Josephine Duveneck, Howard Thurman, and Bernice Cofer, Alma found a satisfying way in which to direct her early desire for missionary work. A second and more immediate target for these energies was to be found daily in the classroom. Alma's professional influences, which included Rosalind Cassidy, Bernice Baxter, Dan Gilson, Anne Jones, Madge Martin, Doris Holiday, and Irean Coyner among others, shared her awareness of the inevitable impact of social conditions on education. During a time of crisis, the comfort of knowing that her own values were so completely endorsed by friends and associates enabled Alma to "settle in and stay put" for the first time since leaving Canada in 1921.

THE CITY OF OAKLAND AFTER THE WAR YEARS

As in other "boom towns" during the war years, the crisis in Oakland expressed itself socially, politically and economically. Employment peaked in 1943 and dropped steadily thereafter. By the time war with Japan ended, employment in

nearby Richmond had fallen from 90,000 to 35,000. Shipbuilding, the backbone of the war industries in the Bay Area, basically ended in 1946. The number of working women between 1940 and 1947 grew by eighty-four percent compared to forty-nine percent for men. At war's end women and blacks faced the most severe consequences, with black women facing unemployment rates as high as forty percent.[73]

City planners regarded social services, such as the housing and the schooling needed to accommodate the burgeoning wartime population, as "temporary services for temporary citizens." The decision made early in favor of "temporary" as opposed to "permanent" housing was the most visible illustration of this perspective. The lack of decent housing was always at the center of war migrants' discontent. In 1945, the Oakland Housing Authority predicted out-migration rates of forty to sixty percent at war's end.[74] They believed that when war industries closed, lack of employment would drive workers back to the hometowns from whence they came.

In an effort to facilitate the city's transition from wartime to peacetime, Oakland Mayor, John Slavich, appointed a Postwar Planning Committee in 1943. The Committee was dominated by local business leaders who presented a three-sided program of public works, civic projects and slum clearance. If Oakland was to continue its industrial growth, business interests decreed it was essential to have adequate public facilities. Funding would come through major bond issues.

The temporary war housing projects were Oakland's "sorest blight." These areas occupied "strategic land and housed a group of migrants who were culturally and racially distinct from prewar residents." In an effort to dislocate the inhabitants and demolish the housing, city officials offered its residents few incentives to stay. Social services were withdrawn from war housing in December, 1945. State and

local governments maintained minimal recreation and child care services but refused to invest in the upkeep of playgrounds and other facilities. This neglect resulted in a predictably higher rate of crime, disease and infant mortality than in other neighborhoods, and predictably "strengthened the determination of conservative leaders to rid" the city of its "blight."[75]

Attempts by social planners to forecast post-war behavior were unsuccessful. Defense migrants did not disappear on schedule as anticipated by the Planning Commission. Some left temporarily but "having become accustomed to local climate, people and conditions, came back in a short time, bringing friends and relatives with them." Educational opportunities offered to veterans through the GI Bill were exercised at the University of California in neighboring Berkeley. As a result, Alameda County hosted 84,760 veterans in 1947. The populations in Oakland, Berkeley and Richmond increased from three to ten percent from 1944 to 1950.[76]

In face of this new reality of increased rather than decreased social needs, the differences between conservative and liberal factions crystallized. Business leaders wanted to preserve and expand the economic growth of the war years. This meant urban redevelopment programs and industrial development. Liberals wanted a continuation of subsidized housing and improved social services for those suffering the effects of postwar dislocations. New public housing was to replace the inadequate temporary housing of the war years. Conservatives saw public housing and urban redevelopment as incompatible.

Veterans unable to secure decent housing when they returned from the war lent their voices to protests against the speedy dismantlement planned for the war housing. The Federal government responded in 1945 by postponing demolition of

the housing indefinitely. Liberal forces did not long enjoy their victory. A conservative coalition led by the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), a long-time opponent of public housing, launched an anti-housing referendum in the late 1940s. Attacking public housing as "socialistic," the group "appealed to voters' patriotism, fiscal conservatism, and belief in the free enterprise system."[77] The initiative won; public housing was strongly rejected.

Methods used to discredit the notion of public housing displayed national Cold War anxieties about Communism. A "fierce red-baiting campaign" against pro-housing members of the city council resulted in their defeat. The labor coalition, also in support of housing, was denounced by the Oakland Tribune as "left-wing communists." In Washington, D.C., activities by Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy led to passage of the Gwinn Amendment in 1952. East Bay cities required all public housing residents to take a loyalty oath, denying allegiance with "Communists, Fascists, and other subversives."[78] Clearly, the liberals were in retreat. According to historian Marilyn Johnson:

> While pro-housing candidates mounted a successful challenge to business leaders shortly after the war, the liberal momentum had expired by the early fifties. Returning prosperity, a pervasive climate of anti-Communism, and a rising tide of white racial fear in urban areas all served to undermine the liberal initiatives of the labor coalition. Conservatives, led by banking and real estate interests, found the housing controversy to be an especially powerful issue which they used to regain their former dominance.[79]

How did this social environment affect the Oakland schools during the years Alma taught in the system (1943 to 1955)? During the war years Oakland handled the increased school population with portable "temporary" classrooms. Poor teaching conditions and low pay caused dozens of teacher resignations. By 1945, a full one-quarter of the staff was operating on emergency teaching credentials. Because most of the war migrants were under age 45, young families

disproportionately increased the number of school children. With a younger, more volatile school population, school officials were challenged to meet classroom needs.

Alma witnessed this in her very first assignment during the summer before she began work at Horace Mann school with Dan Gilson.

> ALMA: This was my first experience with a very angry bunch of youngsters. They were just absolutely beside themselves. There was nothing anybody could do for them or with them that wasn't antagonistic. They just said "no" to everything and destroyed everything they could get their hands on. And all summer I never did figure out how to deal with those children.[80]

The children entering Alma's classroom could not escape the daily pressures faced by parents, many of whom were mothers raising children alone due to the war.

> ALMA: I'd see, for instance, a mother come by in her car and she didn't have the time to go through the gate. And she picked up the kid by the pants and threw him over the fence, and he could land where he wanted to. They were in a great big hurry.[81]

ELEMENTARY ASSISTANT PROGRAM

One effort on the part of educational authorities to assist principals, supervisors and classroom teachers to deal with troubled children in the classrooms began in 1945. The Elementary Assistant Program was the creation of Dr. Herbert R. Stolz, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in charge of individual guidance, and Bernice Baxter, Assistant Superintendent of Schools. The program received the support of William R. Odell, Superintendent of Oakland public schools.

Fourteen teachers were chosen because of their ability as teachers, their ability to work successfully with members of their faculties, and their interest in helping individual children from a guidance approach. At the time Irean Coyner was the Supervisor of Elementary School Education. Miss Coyner played a vital part in the implementation of the program.

A Remedial Reading program had been in place in the Oakland school system; however, it was intended that this new program would more effectively meet deeper needs. Rather than simply teaching reading, the focus was to be on the child, to discover his needs and develop a means of helping him meet these needs. This was to be done by teacher and elementary assistants working together with the approval of the school principal, building on both the child's and the teacher's potentialities and strengths. All participation in the program was voluntary.

Not all schools were required to participate. An Elementary Assistant was assigned only if the school principal favored a "preventive rather than a remedial approach" and if the Elementary Assistant felt she could work successfully with all concerned. Before the program commenced, a conference was held with the assistant, the school principal, Dr. Baxter and Irean Coyner so that there was mutual understanding of the program among the persons involved.

Flexibility was to be the keynote of the program. Classroom instruction, curriculum planning, child growth and development, special adjustment and learning problems were the areas of greatest activity for the Elementary Assistant. The Elementary Assistant helped to pull "converging influences into focus."[82]

Elementary Assistants were assigned to two schools; a half a day was spent in each. For the first two years of the program monthly meetings were held with Irean Coyner. Resource people attending included Bernice Baxter and Mary Alice Sarvis, M.D., Ph.D. Dr. Sarvis served as a consulting psychiatrist to the Oakland Public School and its guidance counselors. The success of the whole program, in Alma's view, lay in the quality of relationships among people. "Respect and a cooperative approach in finding ways to promote the growth of everyone involved contributed to the creativeness of the elementary assistants, teachers, and children." This effort to

develop the "whole person" required that the Elementary Assistants play a pivotal role, first, by enabling classroom teachers to identify their needs and strengths, And secondly, by helping the school system to locate the resources necessary to meet classroom needs.[83]

There were distinct similarities between the Elementary Assistant program and the Tutorial program at Mills. Both assumed that new recruits entering an established system required extended assistance from instructors who were genuinely interested in their success. Ideally, tutors/assistants were well informed, well adjusted, and well educated. Within such a schema there was the implicit acknowledgment of the reasonableness of expressing a need for assistance. There was no loss of status or prestige in learning how to improve present methods.

Alma was not a charter member of the Elementary Assistants group; she was invited to join the group in September, 1947. The previous summer, Alma attended a UCSF Extension course offered by Dr. Mary Alice Sarvis, a protege of well known psychiatrist, Erik Erikson. Dr. Sarvis was highly regarded professionally. Later one of her peers wrote of the "vitality, honesty and vigor as well as charm inherent in Mary Sarvis's contacts with human beings."[84] Alma developed great admiration and respect for Dr. Sarvis and always looked forward to the monthly meetings.

> ALMA: I think she (Dr. Sarvis) loved to come into our circle because she could unwind. She would sort of tease us and laugh at us about the way we were. And the way we were in her sight was a bunch of rather middle-class, very polite and friendly, you know, nice young ladies who wouldn't say anything bad at any time.[85]

Dr. Sarvis directed her energies toward the Elementary Assistant program because she believed that as the problems in American education became more acute and more oriented to the psycho-social dimension in children's lives, there was greater need for well-trained guidance personnel. The challenge was for the school counselor to function effectively as a generalist when prior training may have

prepared her to be specialist.

Dr. Mary A. Sarvis, "beloved and renowned psychiatrist, who died at the height of her career," co-authored a work published posthumously and dedicated to the students and staff of the Oakland Public Schools. *Collaboration in School Guidance - A Creative Approach To Pupil Personnel Work* emphasized the need for educators and mental health personnel in the schools "to learn how to work effectively as a team serving the many disturbed, non-learning, disruptive, and seriously emotionally and motivationally disadvantaged children from both the ghettos and the suburbs."[86]

> ALMA: She [Mary Alice Sarvis] was continually, gently, very critical of the way administrative people were looking at classrooms and children and teachers. Because she'd spent almost six months before she did a thing, sitting in the back of classrooms. And she told us how amazed she was with what really went on . . . . And she made all of us very aware of what there is that can happen, and what does happen, or may never happen.
>
> ALMA: She had an amazing sense of cultural splits--of the kids that are cut off and who never have a chance to get on the inside. Always remain on the outside where you have to struggle to even be. And then may make a big rumpus--make a lot of trouble. But what else can they do unless they want to drop dead.[87]

The Elementary Assistant program as it functioned in Oakland between 1945 and 1952 allowed for time to study a problem. "And if you don't have a ready answer, don't pretend you have. But you have time and they [teachers] don't. You have time, you have access to resources."[88]

Alma had an example of how time alone could work wonders. One teacher had a little girl in class, "she's sitting here in the classroom all day long. She doesn't do anything. If I say, 'come to my reading,' she comes and sits and doesn't do anything. I don't even know whether she can speak. I don't know what to do." Alma told the teacher she would come to the classroom and observe. The child would not speak to Alma either. But Alma sat patiently in the classroom and watched.

> ALMA: And what did I see? Something very cute, I thought, just by accident. The teacher was giving the children a little free time to do what they wanted. And this little girl had gone to the little playroom and she had set the table for tea. And she said to the teacher, "Will you come for tea?" The teacher came and sat down and they went through this little ritual. So I got myself a piece of paper and a pen and I wrote a little tiny story.[89]

Alma's story of what she observed ended up on the reading table in the child's classroom. When Alma later attempted to take the story to copy it, she noticed the little girl watched her closely. "I knew that that book had a meaning to her so I brought it right back." Shortly thereafter, the teacher told Alma that the child appeared to be cautiously willing to enter classroom activity. "It was a beginning."[90]

> ALMA: A lot of people would say, "Well, what's that? . . . Nobody would think of that as important." It made all the difference in the world to that little girl because it gave her suddenly a sense of herself as a part of that classroom. There was that book that represented what she had said. And anybody could read it. Here was evidence . . . . We were experienced enough to see what was germinally missing and was needed.[91]

Alma had many stories to tell about "beginnings" in the Elementary Assistant Program. For her, it was a procedure that enabled the teachers to personalize an impersonal system. In Oakland Alma realized that she was "in love with public education" and that she was "married to the profession." From time to time her friend Josephine Duveneck tried to persuade Alma to leave the public school system. Mrs. Duveneck told Alma she would welcome her at the Peninsula School in Menlo Park. Although Alma had the highest regard for Josephine Duveneck and, indeed, envied the environment that openly celebrated the educational philosophy of John Dewey, she never seriously considered abandoning the public school system.

During the 1940s Alma visited the Peninsula School that Josephine and Frank Duveneck began with 45 students in 1926. The Duvenecks, dissatisfied with the California public school system and seeking the best possible educational experience for their own four children, joined with other local parents interested in

establishing a progressive school. This was no easy task. A school handbook described the effort. "A combination of romantic vision, grit, commitment to basic principles and willingness to make things work enabled the school to survive the harsh trials of the '30s and the disruption of the war years which followed."[92] Duveneck wrote:

> We felt we were pioneers inaugurating a new society and for the first time in our lives were free to translate our ideals into reality . . . . I often feel that the aims of a progressive school could be summed up concretely by the two ideals--individual development and social consciousness or conscience[93] The school is in a position to stimulate young people to work towards a clearer understanding of themselves and of their human relationships. It is not enough to train the intellect. Where there is no vision the people perish.[94]

Alma had great appreciation for the fine school these pioneers established. However, it remained her fondest dream that ideas such as theirs could be replicated within the public school in spite of the existing bureaucracy. Alma was equally inspired by Irean Coyner, Supervisor of Elementary Education in Oakland. Alma composed a small notebook filled with the simple wisdom Irean shared with the women under her supervision.

> l) A teacher's expressed interests can be taken seriously. 2) Serious attention to what may seem mundane and incidental regularities can make a greater difference in effective learning than we are inclined to realize. 3) A teacher in a classroom can well afford to take time to take a back seat and observe. The cues she will get can raise to a substantial level, such engagements as she does choose. Nothing is less productive than being continually "busy" or remaining at the center of the hub.[95]

In 1947, Charles C. Grover was chosen to replace Bernice Baxter as Assistant Superintendent. Changes noted to the Elementary Assistant Program were slight. The size of groups for teaching purposes, previously left to the discretion of the instructor, was designated as six students. Grover wanted the Course of Study made available to all teachers, not merely those who "expressed need" as stated in the original criteria. Miss Eva Ott, principal of Crocker Highland School in Oakland,

praised the elementary assistants during a meeting of the Department of Elementary School Principals in San Francisco in 1949. As Ott described the approach:

> Usually she doesn't start with the remedial work; she starts with watching the child in the classroom; with conferences; with a therapy play-period to try to find where his difficulties are . . . . In other words, there is not a regular remedial class where they stay for work, but the elementary assistance is a guide to the teacher to carry on.[96]

When Selmer H. Berg became Superintendent of Oakland schools in 1949, he instituted an on-going evaluation of the Elementary Assistant Program. Alma was a committee member contributing to this work. In 1952 a survey of twenty-five principals and fourteen assistants revealed general satisfaction with the program "as now in effect."[97] In spite of glowing individual reports about its effectiveness, the program was canceled at the end of 1953. The intent was to promote elementary assistants to Principals and Vice Principals. It was assumed these instructors would be as productive on the administrative level as they were in the classroom.

Alma was angry and confused at what she understood to be the system's willingness to compromise benefits gained in the classroom for bureaucratic purposes. She believed it was impossible to sustain the confidentiality and lack of judgment that the program afforded classroom relationships once the administration entered the room. With the loss of this important component, possibilities for interaction were decidedly limited.

Alma became disillusioned with the Oakland system as early as 1947 when Charles Grover replaced Bernice Baxter (1896-1986) as Assistant Superintendent of Schools. Baxter left the Oakland system briefly in 1947/48 for a stint in Europe with UNESCO and as a consultant to the U.S. Military for Elementary and Secondary Education. When she returned, she was no longer on the "inside track" to the

Superintendent's office. Alma was very sensitive to Baxter's demotion; she grieved the loss of Baxter's vision and idealism within the top echelons of education. Baxter, aged 52, worked in the Guidance Office of the Oakland Public School system as Director of Education in Human Relations until her retirement. She continued to write and published two books in 1952. Dr. Bernice Baxter died at the age of 90; a memorial listed an entire page of her professional and community contributions.

Grover's promotion represented a shift in educational philosophy in Oakland during the late 1940s. The progressive theories that had flowered in the 1930s and early 1940s were replaced by conservative fears of subversive social ideas. The war had created a necessary reversal in the roles of women and minorities. In the period of adjustment following the war, it was unnerving to conservatives that some of those changes appeared permanent. The earlier emphasis on "the group," on the international cooperation promoted by Baxter and Cassidy and encouraged by the establishment of the United Nations, disappeared with more insular postwar socio/political/economic concerns. As Oakland families painfully struggled to return to "normal," school administrators, as a highly visible symbol of changing times, determined to exert greater control over curriculum, teachers and students within the school system.

In the summer of 1951, at Grover's request, Alma changed plans for a Mexican vacation to attend classes in Administration at San Francisco State College. She obediently took the classes and wrote up her own evaluation of the Elementary Assistant Program. Alma's report included recommendations for improving communication, which in her view lay at the heart of existing weaknesses in the system. Alma's report represented a concerted effort to recreate in the public school system some of the benefits of democracy that she perceived to be

present at Duveneck's Peninsula School.

Alma's greatest disappointment in the proposed cancellation of the Elementary Assistant Program was the perception of her own personal failure. She felt inadequate to persuade Grover and Berg, as representative of the larger enterprise, that their view from the top was unnecessarily myopic. In spite of the fact that both men respected her work, Alma could not convince them that this particular program was indispensable. What was so clear to her was the inherent weakness of communication within a hierarchical model. The distance between Superintendent and student was so great that each needed to shout in order to be heard. In a shouting match, the message was lost. Alma felt that an intelligent observer within the system such as the Elementary Assistant, without ambition for personal gain, interested only in maximizing the effectiveness of democratically derived policies, could facilitate communication.

Alma perceived the learning dynamic that occurred between student and teacher to be central to the plot of the classroom drama. In her opinion, the administration undervalued the roles of teacher/student. Instead, the spotlight shone most often on administrators implementing current educational practices shaped by socio/political theories. Failure to share the spotlight denied the contribution of every player on stage. With only token recognition of their intelligence, ingenuity, and resourcefulness, teachers were reduced to "walk-ons," easily replaced by "stand-ins" reading a prepared script.

Students, afforded even less respect, were assigned a seat in the audience and were expected to absorb knowledge through passive observation rather than excited participation. If the entire extravaganza was to prepare the child for her part in fulfilling responsibilities as a citizen of a democracy, then the school environment

must provide the opportunity to practice the role on a familiar stage.

In the early years of her career Alma had empathized with school principals in much the same manner that she accepted the necessary authority of parents and church. She was willing to concede they knew more than she did; therefore, decisions passed down were to be respected and obeyed. This was never a blind obedience--never the notion that all authority comes from God--but rather an awareness that the complexity of issues can preclude a single judgment. Now in Oakland in 1953, Alma had a different reaction. She interpreted the cancellation of a program in which she had personally invested much of her idealism as more than simple stupidity. She saw it against the background of her recent social activism. This was another example of a power struggle in which those at the top made policy and those on the bottom lived with it.

> ALMA: Decisions are made at the top and they are carried out by a second level followed by a third. And the consequences fall to the bottom where they can say nothing. They just have to take the consequences. It's very costly and it's very ineffectual because of what I said to my superintendent, "The messages never get back up." He thought they did. I said, "They never get back up there because the kind of messages we send from the bottom up don't make any sense to them."[98]

A poem Alma wrote expressed her feelings on the subject.

A LAMENT UPON HIERARCHY - EXPRESSED IN HOPE

Where one is much too safe
another pays too dearly for
this one's safety sphere.
Where this can be bridged
two nobler men can
walk together
facing such hazards
as there are
and meeting a changing world
as now it stands.
But as so often is
one burrows deeper in
farther away
from realities of that other.

As the one is ready to shoot the man
who brings bad news
threatens his defense and walls
while another too much exposed to chance and change
is learning a mean and lowdown way to fight
for survival, against all those
who are too ruthless - those
caring little for his fellowmen.
In such a world our children
cannot grow
to full and rich maturity
kind and good
though
where this can be bridged,
two nobler men can walk together
less afraid.

THE BENEFITS OF THERAPY

Alma's interest in human behavior as she observed children in the classroom was encouraged during workshops offered throughout the Bay Area by outstanding teachers such as Fritz Redl, Mary Alice Sarvis, a protege of Erik Erikson, and Dr. Maenchen, a protege of Anna Freud. Alma's housemate, Margaret Rohrer, was in therapy at the time. When Alma considered the benefits of entering psycho-therapy herself, Margaret said, "you would get more out of Jung than you might out of Freud because Jung seems to give room for the religious dimension."[99] Alma found a therapist in San Francisco and saw him for two years.

In therapy Alma was able to explore her childhood from a safe distance. In particular Alma examined the relationship with her parents, Maggie and Dave. As it happened, Alma was the only child in the family with hair color and skin color that was darker than her siblings. When she was a child, Alma remembered extended family members questioning whom she resembled. For a while Alma wondered if she was adopted "or picked up somewhere under a tree?"[100] Sibling rivalry between Alma and sister, Myrtle, who was eighteen months younger, began early and served to compound her doubts.

> ALMA: For instance, when Dad took Myrtle and me to Borden both of us helped with the grain. We were just little kids but we could hold the rein. We were sitting in the [grain] elevator and Dad wanted to walk down town and he took Myrtle and he didn't take me. He let me sit.
>
> Well, you know, it could have been that I'd been a nuisance all morning and that he wanted a little peace (laugh). And Myrtle was this darling little--Well, take a look at this little picture, this white, lovely, thick hair. So innocent and so demure and so sweet. (chuckle) I'm sure he got a lot more pleasure out of her than he did out of me.[101]

Alma felt that her parents found her sisters more attractive than herself. These feelings were "deeply ingrained." This confused Alma, especially as she grew older and learned that Maggie Gloeckler prayed that her daughters would not be attractive. Events in Maggie's young life caused her to fear "that attractive women are seductive. They are a danger."[102] After Agatha died and Maggie became responsible for her younger sisters, she was painfully aware of her inadequacy to protect her sisters (especially her sister, Sue) from hurts that can be encountered in family life, both verbal and physical.

Alma maintains that her mother was very protective of her own daughters' feelings because of hurts she perceived in her own family when she and her siblings were growing up. Sensitive to these feelings, Maggie tried scrupulously to avoid the appearance of any display of favoritism among the children. Unfortunately, Maggie's notion of equality among siblings restricted her dutiful daughter Alma's ability to claim personal attention. On more than one occasion when Alma attempted to assert her right to claim, Maggie admonished her "not to step out of her skin."

As Alma entered puberty, the usual feelings of inadequacy experienced at this stage of development were compounded by her perception of self as unaccepted by her parents. It seems plausible that to an eleven-year-old, the most obvious reason for the lack of acceptance might be appearance. But it is also likely, given

Alma's sensitivity and imagination, that she suspected other factors. It was impossible to discuss such an overwhelming thoughts with Maggie and Dave, idealized as perfect parents. As a result, Alma lived with unspoken feelings that "colored my whole life."

> ALMA: Eventually this therapy helped me to realize that we could never grow up unless there was some reason for us to break from our families and from our parents. . . . One thing became clear that it was not my father as much, in my experience with both of them that had given me rejective experiences, as my mother. And I could hardly believe this.[103]

Alma realized early, as a teenager helping in the church nursery in Great Deer, that she loved "mothering" but she had few illusions about marriage. The farm women she knew worked very hard and many died young. When she visited the cemetery at Great Deer, the markers revealed the ratio of deaths among women and children was at least three times greater than that of men. There were few options for single women in the Mennonite community; one was teaching. Alma's dream of missionary work came face to face with reality when she attended Tabor College. There she saw that most women who entered the missionary field did so as the spouse and help-mate of a minister. Only a very few outstanding single women worked in the mission fields, usually as co-laborers with a married couple.

There was no one at Tabor, nor at UCLA, who caused Alma seriously to reconsider her earlier ideas about marriage. Once she began teaching Alma focused all of her energies on her profession. In 1928, most middle-class married women, certainly those with children, would not have considered working after marriage. This thinking was not confined to the Mennonite community; this was mainstream America. Myrtle married secretly in 1932 while she taught at Shafter High School in order to avoid anticipated dismissal. For Alma, it does not seem as if she ever seriously considered trading the certain satisfaction she derived in her

professional life for the questionable satisfactions of married life.

By the time she got to Oakland, via Bakersfield and Mills, Alma realized for better or worse that she was "married" to the profession. In therapy she was willing to consider the issue of her sexuality as an unmarried woman. "What it did essentially for me . . . was to make me come all the way to the point where I could accept the fact that my body was a woman's body. And I was a woman. And I began to feel very good about being a woman."[104] The sense of shame that Alma experienced at age eight or nine when her childhood friends taunted her about playing with Jacob, her friend who later died, left her during therapy.

Alma's therapist worked with dreams. Two vivid dreams during this time helped her to deal with issues of life and death. One dream was about Maggie and Dave.

> ALMA: I could see those two and from being large they diminish and they become two small people. Their backs are to me and they are walking away from me. And I had to have a funeral. I wept and I wept and I lost those parents. They died to me; they were gone. But from that came whole new realizations of who they really were.[105]

The second dream encouraged Alma to accept both her feminine sexuality and her bodily functions as pleasurable. Later, this dream enabled Alma to interact with angry school children in a way she could not have anticipated. Alma was at Longfellow School in 1953-55, a few years after she ended therapy. The children fought with each other daily and, from what Alma observed, they disliked themselves and each other. This lack of regard seemed focused on their bodies. At an earlier time, this behavior would have left Alma feeling confused and inadequate. Now, she saw things differently.

> ALMA: And to these little angry kids out there in Oakland I could say, "Isn't it nice we have such a nice clean body that we can keep clean on the outside by washing - but our body cleans itself up with water and with everything else too by those two holes

> we have in our body?" And they said "OOOOh!" I could very gleefully enjoy that with them.[106]

For Alma the benefits of therapy "never left me. I never felt that I could live a day as the person I had been, as limited as I had been, as closed off. And so much more was real to me, was vital to me . . . ."[107] A new self awareness enabled Alma to identify feelings of anger and sadness during her years in Oakland. Her poetry written at this time gives some insight into the struggle to confront old demons.

A RESTLESS NIGHT

The devil sits upon my bed
this mid of night
to plague me so.
He speaks of all the bygone days
that plagued, harassed and
saddened me.
I push my pillow - fight and swear
that vengeance sure
will be my share.
That all the wrong that came to me
will be dispersed 'mongst
those who dealt it.
That each in turn I'll show the fist
and right the wrong
they did to me.

And then when morning comes along
I'm tired and weary
torn and sad
At all the things I have not changed
At all the wrongs I'm apt to do
On this new day
That's dawning bright.

A PICTURE OF FOCUS - DOORS AND VISIONS

One closed door
opens up another.
Open one door
and another closes.
As tides the balances
Rise and fall
Sway and turn
As doors swing open and then close.

See inside
no room outside.
See outside
The room grows dim inside.
A fuzzy focus
on all but present
or on past.
To live is then a life of now
With doors closed well
on all but here and now.
To dream is then a life of vision
On doors closed well on all but dreams.
So in and out we go
In rhythmic
joyous confusion
From reality of now
to reality of dream
With moments of insight
Midst shifting senses
Focused.

THE LAST YEARS IN OAKLAND 1953-1955

Longfellow School, where Alma spent her last two years in the Oakland Public Schools, had a predominantly black population. From September 1953 through May 1955 Alma taught the same children, first in third grade, then in fourth. It was not an easy assignment. "Those children were like those [angry] children that I saw in that daycare center when I first came [to Oakland]." Alma was told that with her good reputation she could easily transfer. These children "drove out teachers every year." Instead, Alma chose to accept the challenge.[108]

Alma's teaching methods were traditional in that she sought to build on what her students learned in earlier grades. However, Alma's approach to testing was radical. Rather than testing to learn what a student did not know, Alma believed that a primary value in testing was to reassure students of what they already knew. The majority of students Alma taught during these two years desperately needed reassurance that they were capable of learning. Testing, in her view, was a teaching aid used to discern where students needed assistance. It was not used to categorize

students for greater classroom efficiency.

One student, Ann, demanded a test on the entire third grade spelling list and was angrily frustrated each time she failed. After this happened a few times, Alma tried to persuade the little girl to modify the list to those words which she knew. "Let's you and I take three words that you know you can pass. You pick those three." Ann complied. Alma told her, "you go home and you study those." (chuckle) She came back and she got a hundred.[109] Alma was not patronizing Ann, as the child first suspected. Alma believed that what a student already knew provided an essential base upon which to build. Eventually, Ann accepted the legitimacy of Alma's testing methods and her attitude changed. Ann's success brought her confidence and she became less angry and more ready to learn.

If Alma had to choose one particular event that illustrated her own success with this group, it would be the Christmas Program of 1954. Early in the fall the school principal, Mrs. Alsgood, declared the annual Christmas program was to be directed by "some class that has never had a chance to be in a Christmas program." Alma's class, a diverse group of social misfits, many of whom had repeated grades, met the criteria. This unlikely collection of malcontents were to be the stars of the evening because, "the principal had given her word, she could not say 'no.'" Alma shared responsibilities for the music with another fourth grade teacher.[110]

> ALMA: And oh boy, did we get started! Oh, boy! Everybody wanted to be in. They'd come in at recess. They'd run in and want to practice. And I was continually having trouble with the principal because she said, "You can't have those kids running up and down the hall." I said, "I can't keep them out."
>
> ALMA: So they came and they came, a lot of kids. Her [fourth grade] kids were mad that they couldn't be in the orchestra. And my ones now were mad that they couldn't sing as pretty as they were, cause they heard that "purrty" singing. So, there was a lot of rivalry. By the time we were ready for our program all my grumblers were singing on pitch and her kids had all learned the orchestra bells. They'd learned their sight reading there.[111]

Alma structured the evening's entertainment on the Christmas message of "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men," with emphasis on the United Nations as one institution for augmenting universal good will. The children performed masterfully. The evening was filled with music and Alma was delightfully surprised when the entire audience joined in a half-hour of spontaneous caroling after the children finished. Alma felt gratified by the hard-won acceptance of the staff, the children, and their parents when the school year ended in June 1955.

THE DECISION TO MOVE EAST, 1955

Back in the summer of 1952, Dr. Bernice Baxter had invited Alma to assist her in presenting a teachers' education program in Portland, Oregon. In Portland Alma met teachers from across the country, one of whom, Doris Holms, was from Queens City College, Flushing, New York. The following summer, 1953, Alma attended an ACEI Conference in New Jersey and met Dr. Lucille Lindberg, also a faculty member of Queens College. This combination of events resulted in a phone call to Alma from Dr. Harry N. Rivlin, President of Queens College, in the spring of 1955. Dr. Rivlin offered her a faculty position as Guest Lecturer for the 1955-56 school year.

Alma's experience at the University of California Berkeley Demonstration School, the Oakland Elementary Assistant Program, and the workshops that she conducted with Dr. Baxter in Portland qualified her for this new position in charge of student teachers. In follow-up correspondence Dr. Rivlin informed Alma: "You have no way of knowing how unusual it is to appoint anyone who has not visited our campus. That we are doing so is a tribute to all of the very favorable comments we have heard about you .... Our departmental Committee on Appointments voted unanimously and enthusiastically that you be appointed as a visiting lecturer."[112]

Oakland Assistant School Superintendent Grover, puzzled though he might have been by Alma's earlier resistance to accepting an administrative position, expressed his appreciation of her abilities. In a letter to Dr. Rivlin concerning Alma, Grover wrote: "Miss Gloeckler knows the instructional program in the elementary school extremely well and is able to help young teachers most adequately. She is particularly adept in the field of human relations in which area she has specialized . . . and is in every way a satisfactory representative of the teaching profession."[113]

Alma accepted Dr. Rivlin's offer because she felt intuitively, as she had earlier in Shafter and in Bakersfield, that it was time to move on. (Oakland considered the move a leave of absence.) The year spent at Mills College from 1942-43, and in particular Alma's association with Dr. Rosalind Cassidy, enriched Alma's view of the role of teacher as a "change agent." Dr. Cassidy's understanding of the interdisciplinary forces at work upon the curriculum--psychological, social, political, economic, historical, and anthropological--emphasized the teacher's responsibility to society as "a carrier of the culture."

Cassidy's awareness of the significance of coordinative efforts was reinforced by Dr. Bernice Baxter in the Oakland Public School system. Alma appreciated the importance of democratic values and, upon reentering the classroom after graduate school, she welcomed the opportunity to implement these ideas in a new locale. Education, as the handmaiden of democracy, took on a spiritual dimension. In the decidedly secular environment of wartime Oakland, Alma had the chance to practice the Mennonite teachings which valued each human being and thereby honored the Creator.

In Oakland Alma found both personal and professional support through

membership in various organizations. One example was the Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI), where among other benefits Alma gained a lifelong friend, Anne Jones. Efforts on behalf of education by Mrs. Jones, a black woman, resulted in a leadership role in the Richmond and Oakland communities. Friendship with Anne Jones and her husband, Johnny, gave Alma an intimate view of racism in America. The social inequities experienced by black children in Oakland were of different origin than the discrimination experienced by the migrant children in Shafter; however, in Alma's view the result was the same, a denial of basic civil rights. Rather than celebrating the diversity inherent in a heterogeneous population, American society was corrupted by a "separate but equal" mentality that tolerated discrimination.

Alma's involvement with the Council for Civic Unity, an umbrella group including among others the Japanese American Citizens League and American Civil Liberties Union, served to instruct her about the continuing struggle to preserve the democratic values of her adopted country. For Alma the resolution of conflict between Christian idealism and secular reality called for a social activism which was seemingly at odds with the earlier Mennonite emphasis--to be in the world but not of the world. Prior to 1942 Alma had used the schoolhouse as the heart of her personal efforts as a missionary intent upon loving neighbor as self. However, the ravages of World War II, with all of its attendant horrors, required a clarification in the values of passivism and pacifism.

This need for re-evaluation caused Alma to enter psychotherapy from 1946 to 1948. Her curiosity about children's classroom behavior in the Valley during the Depression, and in Oakland during the turbulent war years, predisposed Alma to give serious consideration to the theories of Freud, Jung, and Erikson. When she

began therapy, issues such as pacificism, religion, gender, family, and sexuality were examined in search of new insights as Alma entered middle age. Surrounded by a support system, most directly her peers and less directly her family, Alma allowed feelings of anger, hurt, and despair to exist alongside feelings of peace, forgiveness, and hope. Her poetry written in Oakland reveals this more completely than her verbal recollections during interviews almost fifty years later.

Without this period of self-awareness, it is questionable whether Alma would have so energetically participated in attempts to secure social "justice for all." Also, based on her past professional behavior, it is questionable whether Alma would have persisted in her determination to persuade Oakland school officials to reinstate the Elementary Assistant Program. As her world view had broadened intellectually during the summer school classes in the 1930s, during the Oakland years Alma's understanding of self broadened into a conscious identification with minorities: race, creed, gender, and ethnic origin. All of this was to be reinforced during Alma's years in the east.

CURRENT FAMILY HISTORY, 1955

When Alma moved east in the summer of 1955, Maggie and Dave Gloeckler were comfortably established in their new home in San Jose, California. They sold the Shafter farm in 1949 and, after relocating in the Bay Area, Maggie and Dave joined the Mennonite Brethren community at the Lincoln Avenue Church. Alma's six sisters were married. Myrtle, Frances, Daisy, and Maruth lived in California with their growing families. Teena, married to a military officer, taught in dependent schools in Europe. Melba, who married during the war years and divorced shortly thereafter, worked for the U.S. Foreign Service and lived in Germany in 1955.

Just a few months earlier, on April 15, Maggie and Dave celebrated the joyous occasion of their 50th wedding anniversary. The young couple who began married life as pioneers in Great Deer, Saskatchewan, in 1905 were now aged 70 and 72. Myrtle and Frances hosted the gala event and each of the daughters contributed photos and writings which were included in an anniversary booklet and lovingly presented to their parents.

The sentimental collage of memories included comments by Frances on the departure from Great Deer in 1921, "leaving [behind] dear friends, priceless possessions, and scenes of a happy childhood." Great Deer was prominent in Myrtle's memories also. "Three of us are sitting on a sled and Dad on ice-skates is whisking us across the lake at great speed." Teena recalled early morning swims in the Shafter farm reservoir "before it was emptied again by the endless irrigation of the cotton and potato fields." Melba and Daisy remembered Mother's music: "Her sweet low voice gave our singing the much needed smooth balance." Maruth, the youngest, remembered the ritual of combing Dad's hair and the wonderful "aroma of fresh baking bread and buns on Saturday morning." Alma, the eldest, expressed gratitude for "the solid family unit that you established."[114]

The tradition of family unity forged generations earlier during the trek from Prussia into Russia and later from Russia to the United States served the family well. The immigration at the turn of the century from Kansas and Oregon onto homesteading lands in the new province of Saskatchewan reinforced the need for family unity. This unity was strongly tested by the social pressures of acculturation in the San Joaquin Valley when the Gloecklers moved from Canada into California. In spite of economic hardships and the various stresses that occurred as the children grew into adulthood, family loyalty survived.

The ethnic bond within the extended kinship network remained steadfast, although for the most part, church membership did not survive the heat of the melting pot. With the exception of daughter Frances, Maggie and Dave's children separated themselves from the traditional Mennonite Brethren Church. After Alma began her association with the Quakers in Oakland, she formally advised the Shafter church that she wished to withdraw her membership. Because of her keen appreciation for the Mennonite heritage, in particular, the gifts received in youth, Alma left the church to seek its promise elsewhere.

At the anniversary dinner, Dave ad-libbed a few words for the benefit of guests gathered for the occasion. But Maggie carefully wrote a more personal statement. Her composition was a touchingly eloquent account of those events which were most meaningful to the family. In conclusion, Maggie expressed her love for her thirteen grandchildren who "truly are the life and joy of grandparents." And, she prayed in thanksgiving to "Our Lord [who] has lead, kept, and blessed us according to His Grace and Mercy."[115]Amen.

CHAPTER FIVE

NEW YORK, 1955-1969

Before leaving Oakland in June 1955, Alma had surgery performed to remove a serious skin cancer, a melanoma, from her nose. (The surgery was successful; Alma never required further treatment.) She arrived in New York with an open wound on her face and a heart full of excitement and optimism about one more opportunity for "continuing." Prior to commencement of classes at Queens College, Alma accepted Dr. Lucille Lindberg's recommendation to enroll in a summer workshop at Teachers College conducted by Dr. Alice Miel. Additionally, Alma did an independent study with Dr. Miel on Problems of Curriculum and Teaching. Curriculum criteria (what was to be included in the course of study and why it was chosen) was a dominant issue on campus during Alma's years at the school.

Proximity to Teachers College played a large part in Alma's decision to live in Manhattan. She found housing on the upper west side not far from Columbia University. The new location would have been perfect had it not required a three-hour round trip commute to Queens College in a neighboring borough. However, Alma made few complaints about time lost. In her view, the chance to live so near the university plus the opportunity to experience the rhythm of life in New York City compensated for the commute.

Alma's position at the college included teaching courses in teacher education, reading, and supervising student teachers. It was understood from the start that the assignment at Queens College was to be of only one year's duration. During that year Alma was kept busy encouraging her students and following their progress as student teachers. The most significant happening of the year was the

realization that "by the time I had taught a Queens half a year, I knew that I wanted to go on to higher education."[1]

Queens faculty members suggested to Alma that if she were considering returning to school, she should attend classes at Teachers College taught by Professor Dr. Leland B. Jacobs, a published poet and author. Jacobs was not unknown to Alma. Earlier that year she attended an ACEI convention in Kansas City where Jacobs held a large audience enthralled with the potential that storytelling held for learning.

> ALMA: My first vision of him was in a huge ACEI convention. And here came a burly person ambling onto the stage. . . . And I saw this huge group and I thought, my goodness this one person can hold this whole audience. How is that possible? He seemed so nondescript. There was nothing impressive to look at. But when he started in, it was a very different story. . . . And I think a great many people who taught with him, had no idea how powerful he was. He had very profound ideas, I believe, but they were not "intellectually" so impressive. He didn't use that professional jargon.[2]

LELAND B. JACOBS

When Alma reviewed her New York sojourn, the name most often mentioned with great respect and admiration was Dr. Leland B. Jacobs. Dr. Jacobs was recognized nationally as an authority on children's literature when Alma began classes at Teachers College, Columbia University, in the spring of 1956. Jacobs had not been at the school very long himself. He came to New York in 1953 from the faculty of Ohio State University, where he earned his doctorate during World War II. Born in 1907, one year after Alma, Jacobs was raised in Detroit, Michigan.

Jacobs and Alma shared more than a common era; they had similar experiences in education. Jacobs taught in a one-room schoolhouse and Alma learned in one. He taught in the laboratory schools at Michigan State Normal College and Ohio State. Alma taught a summer session at the University of

California Berkeley Demonstration School. Both had the unique experience of teaching on all levels from kindergarten through graduate school. The classroom experience was an important factor in their theories about children and how they learn. Also, Jacobs and Alma shared John Dewey's respect for the student's innate abilities.

Jacobs recognized the influence of John Dewey on his educational theory at the time of his graduate studies. "On my Ph.D., one of Dewey's chief interpreters, Boyd Bode, professor of educational philosophy at Ohio State University, was a tremendous influence on my beliefs concerning educational theory, and Dr. Laura Zirbes and Dr. Harold Alberty on my beliefs about educational practice."[3]

Professor Bode, Jacobs's mentor at Ohio State University, accepted John Dewey's philosophy of the potential of education to bring about social reform. In his book, *Progressive Education at the Crossroads,* Bode expressed his concerns about the unfulfilled promise of the movement in the late 1930s. Bode wrote: "The psychological and philosophical implications of the movement were never widely understood and consequently, a certain amount of misinterpretation was inevitable."[4]

One basic conflict between the traditional values in education and those contemporary values which emerged in the 1920s and 1930s was the argument over absolutes. It was difficult to reconcile the intellectual search for the classic absolutes, the good, the true, and the beautiful, with the implications of scientific, empirical knowledge. For Bode progressive education suggested "a reinterpretation of truth, goodness, and beauty in terms of democratic living . . . . A democratic program of education must necessarily rest on the perception that democracy is a challenge to all forms of absolutism, that it has its own standards, ideals, and values,

and that these must pervade the entire program from end to end."[5]

Bode wrote that the movement found itself at a crossroads because of the confusion in the world about the implications of recognizing the common man. "Admission of the common man to the status of full recognition means more than an extension of privilege. Application to industry means an extensive revision of our conception of property rights and the function of government."[6] The purpose of education was to develop a deeper understanding of the world in which we live. The task of the educational system in a democracy was the cultivation of intelligence, rather than submission to authority. Progressive education must accept that a standard for growth and progress requires continuous and frequent revision of traditional beliefs and attitudes in accordance with growing insight and changing circumstances.

John Dewey's ideas, as translated philosophically by Bode and scholastically by Josephine Duveneck, suggested that it was possible to transform the educational system. This was not to be accomplished incrementally. Such change required a new model of cooperative learning, one that recognized the intrinsic social and academic benefits of mutual dependency. Dewey's approach, which remained controversial throughout his long career, challenged the social value of an American icon. The rugged individualist, independent by choice and competitive by instinct, was in his view at odds with the human experience. In assessing the success of democracy in American life, one should properly evaluate the many and not the few.

For this reason Bode's writings about the implications of educating the common man related to more than schooling. Learning implied growth and change. An informed electorate would benefit the nation socially, politically, and economically. However, in the decades following World War I resistance to change

played on current fears about socialism and communism which threatened a loss of personal autonomy. The belief that the rights of the individual would be endangered by modifying the traditional political system affected the social climate in which Dewey's proponents sought to reenact his educational vision. His ideas, proposing a basic shift in emphasis, were never accepted into the mainstream of American educational policy. However, as the major contributor to the philosophy of education in America, he is acknowledged by all.

Although some educational reforms did find their way into practice, advocates such as Bode were frustrated by the limited vision of sympathetic critics. Instead of simply ranting and raving against the emphasis placed on the "subject" in the conventional curriculum, instead of sentimentalizing the child, instead of creating a new absolute in "progressive education" by focusing on the individual, Bode challenged proponents of the new view to become clearly conscious of the socio-economic-political implications contained in its basic attitude.[7] The promise in progressive education was to give the common man his proper share in the social and cultural heritage. The existing limitations imposed by race, class, and gender contradicted the democratic ideal of equal opportunity endorsed by the Constitution. Restricting the access of some citizens to the democratic process inevitably compromised and weakened the system. As an educational philosopher Dewey directed his attention to the classroom; however, it was evident to his disciples that his writings held the potential to level the playground as well.

Bode's ideas about the purposes of education are echoed in an newspaper interview given by Leland Jacobs in 1954, one year after he arrived at Teachers College. "The modern teacher is concerned seriously with the idea that children are not going to live happily in our free world by being taught autocratically, so each

child learns the democratic group processes by assuming leadership in his best skill and fellowship from the best skills of his classmates."[8]

Jacobs accepted Alfred North Whitehead's basic philosophy of education. The role of an educator is to provide children with "activity of thought, receptivity to beauty and humane feelings."[9] At Teachers College Jacobs taught courses in Language Arts and Children's Literature. He and a colleague, Virgil E. Herrick, co-edited *Children and Language Arts* (1955). The text was dedicated "To the Children of America" and the essays collected "for the purpose of increasing children's joy in life through more effectual use of the language arts." During the 1940s, 50s, and 60s Jacobs wrote prolifically in educational journals explaining to his readers the components of children's literature.

In critiquing the realistic prose fiction for children that became popular in the 1940s, Jacobs's comments reflect his mentor's appreciation for education as an means of encouraging democratic behavior. Two events of international scope, the Depression and World War II, created a larger audience for these ideas. For example, Roosevelt's New Deal domestic policies and a new global awareness manifested by the United Nations demonstrated the role of government and individual citizens in supporting democratic ideals. Jacobs wrote:

> Reading of literature in the elementary school should promote critical consideration of life issues, dilemmas or problems. Children's fiction of American life . . . can increase the reader's imaginative capacity to understand something of a growing meaning of democracy, something of the meaning of living in a heterogeneous democratic society that is seeking experimentally to create more successful ways of achieving adequate nurture and security for all its people. Such fiction should open to the developing child reader the challenges of the dynamic quality of democratic behavior.[10]

In an article that Jacobs wrote titled "Literature Stages a Comeback," it is easy to hear John Dewey's voice. "We must help children in their search to find

themselves. Not be telling them but by providing experiences that will encourage that search for self. That self is found in the process of forming values and attitudes."[11] In a separate article Jacobs explained that using story to preach about ethics and morals was a lost cause because the child "is so busy living ethical values that he does not need preachment about them. He does not comprehend abstract verbalizations about morality." Readers are more apt to find the good, the true, and the beautiful in a story where "the ethics, the values and the morality shine through both the plot pattern and the psychological interactions of characters with significant events in a world that poses problems of living."[12]

For Leland Jacobs literature had the potential to develop the creativity often lost in the school experience. "As one identifies with his character he begins for the moment to walk in the shoes and live in the skin of another person and in so doing to form ideas about himself." Jacobs gave six reasons why children need literature in their lives. Literature entertains, refreshes the spirit, helps explore life and living. Literature is a guidance resource with beautiful language. And literature stimulates creative activities.[13]

During the early 1960s, Dr. Jacobs wrote a series for elementary school teachers in a national publication, *The Instructor.* He introduced teachers to poets and encouraged them to present the poets' works to their students. Among the poets Jacobs chose to include were Langston Hughes, Kate Greenaway, Walter de la Mare, Alfred Lord Tennyson, and Robert Lewis Stevenson. In encouraging children to read the works of poets who were generally assumed to write for adult readers, Jacobs demonstrated his confidence in a young reader's ability to appreciate the diversity of subject and style found in literary expression.[14] In the mid-1960s, he contributed to a regular series in the *American Childhood Education*

International (ACEI) publication, edited by Laura Zirbes. He co-edited the *Treasury of Literature* with Eleanor M. Johnson, long time editor-in-chief of *My Weekly Reader.*

In addition to this prolific output, Jacobs criss-crossed the country during the 1950s and 1960s in response to requests from teachers' groups to share his expertise. Jacobs's reputation preceded him; newspaper accounts of his presentations describe large audiences from Colorado to Kansas to Oklahoma. In Tulsa, for instance, "his section was so popular that it had to be closed to additional enrollment on the opening day of the conference." Over and over again Jacobs delivered his message, deeply respectful of the child, humbled at the invitation to enter the child's world, and keenly aware of the transitory nature of childhood. He was ever mindful of the experiential value of the language arts, story and poetry especially.

Jacobs became the latest in a line of educational mentors for Alma that began with Mr. Marshall in a one room schoolhouse on the Canadian prairie. There was Mr. Hill, Principal of Wasco High School, Aunt Martha and Miss Holgerson in Shafter during the first teaching assignment, Bill Hartschorn at USC, Mr. Rich, Mr. Leedy, and Mrs. Farnham in East Bakersfield, Rosalind Cassidy at Mills, Bernice Baxter and Irean Coyner in Oakland. Leland Jacobs joined this illustrious company in 1956.

When Alma decided to pursue doctoral studies at Teachers College, she had no doubts about whom she wanted as an advisor. Although she had never had an out-of-class conversation with Dr. Jacobs, Alma telephoned and asked if he would be her advisor. She recalls a silence, a chuckle, and then Dr. Jacobs said, "Yes. But we will need to discuss this, so you better come on in."[15]

Once accepted as a doctoral candidate at Teachers College, Alma began to

consider her dissertation topic.

> ALMA: I was very much interested in the definition of the word that we use in our educational courses or in our jargon, the word "continuity." Now, what do we mean by continuity? The way I saw continuity being used was that you go from step to step. First get this well underway, then do the next step. Concentrate on what children didn't know. Exercise what they don't know, work on it from there on out.[16]

Alma felt this narrow definition of continuity was "strangling us in the classroom. So I thought I could do a nice neat little dissertation on turning that notion around and broadening it to the notion of a 'continuing.'"[17] For Alma there was a distinctive difference in the two words. John Dewey believed that the process of education was a "continuing reconstruction of experience."[18] Such a description implied a vitality, an activity, not easily translated into words.

Alma objected to the notion of using a recipe for learning that required major or minor adaptations in order to be universally digested. She was acutely aware of the unique and innate creativity involved in teaching and learning. Indeed, the classroom environment mirrored the diversity of artistic expression present in other creative endeavors. Her sense of wonder about the entire experience caused Alma automatically to reject any approach that suggested learning possessed only a "linear logic."

> ALMA: The continuity on the one hand seems to be mechanistic, hierarchical, linear with an accent on the kind of logic that can predict from one step to another, as though things never change . . . . What I was looking for, was a particular, very deliberate, succinct conception. More than this continuity - step, step, step, step, this other, I wanted to call it a "continuing" with an "ing" which would include notions of simultaneity. That many levels of experience could happen almost at the same time.[19]

Between the 1956 and 1958, in spite of her efforts to give form and structure to this abstract reality, Alma was unable to complete her dissertation on the topic of "continuing." Alma visualized what she wanted to say but the language needed to create the transformation from concept into structure eluded her.

SPUTNIK AND AMERICAN EDUCATION

During these years an event occurred that had critical implications for education. The USSR made headlines throughout the world on October 4, 1957, by launching the first space satellite, Sputnik I. For the decade preceding this stunning technological achievement, the United States and the USSR were engaged in an "arms race." The arms race was a corollary to the cold war that began with the mutual distrust existing between Russia and the U.S. and western Europe at the end of World War II. Although competition between the two super-powers was ostensibly tied to political ideology, it was believed that technological superiority held the key to national security. By extension, technology served to demonstrate the socio-economic benefits of one system over the other.

The shock experienced by the United States when the Communist USSR assumed leadership in a new race, "the space race," soon found a scapegoat in the American educational system.

> ALMA: That fall Sputnik came up. And all over the newspapers - "The Schools Have Failed Us." The schools have not produced the children who have grown up to be scientists. We should have made the first Sputnik. It is our children who should have been the scientists to make the Sputnik - that was the whole story.
>
> Henceforth, there shall be all these science courses, and all these math courses. And the university descended upon the schools. Then there were a few professors that took this seriously, and they started discovering what the teachers were already doing. And they were amazed at all these teachers knew.[20]

Among the vocal critics of education (and other things) at the time was David Riesman, author of *The Lonely Crowd.* Riesman's book was actually written in 1950 but his emphasis on "life adjustment" was discussed throughout the decade. Riesman's thesis contended that there had been a change in the character of the American people during the twentieth century. Earlier American leadership had

been dominated by men whose character was inner-directed, the pioneers, the individualist. The tendency in the twentieth century was toward the dominance of other-directed leaders whose character was formed chiefly by the example of their peers and contemporaries. He sought to persuade the other-directed people that "they no more assuage their loneliness in a crowd of peers than one can assuage one's thirst by drinking sea water."[21]

Riesman laid some of the blame for this phenomenon in the lap of progressive education. In times past the school had placed unquestioning emphasis on intellectual ability as profoundly important in shaping the inner-directed character. The emphasis was on what the student could accomplish, not on social skills. Standards were presented as absolute, not "as somebody's whim." According to Riesman, in the new scheme children were supposed to learn democracy by "underplaying the skills of intellect and overplaying the skills of gregariousness and amiability."[22] The only place it seemed one could excel in school was in athletics.

Riesman felt that parents were more concerned with the child's social and psychological adjustment than with her/his academic progress. In school, instead of being placed according to their intellectual gifts, children were placed with their social peers. The teacher didn't dare to tell parents about poor behavior because she had been taught that bad behavior on the children's part implied poor management on her part. As Reisman put it,

> The teacher's role in this situation is often that of opinion leader. She is the one who spreads the messages concerning what comes from the progressive urban centers. She conveys to the children that what matters is not their industry or learning as such but adjustment in the group, their cooperation, their carefully stylized and limited initiative and leadership.[23]

How did this state of affairs develop? Riesman concluded that changing times made "education, leisure and services" available to the majority of the

population. The result was "an increased consumption of words and images from the new mass media of communications." Mass media pressured the school and the peer group; the consequence was an "exceptional sensitivity to the actions and wishes of others."[24] In reaction to the social conformity he saw all around him, Riesman protested: "The idea that men are created free and equal is both true and misleading; men are created different; they lose their social freedom and their individual autonomy in seeking to become like each other."[25] In other words, diversity as the natural expression of the human condition was to be viewed as an asset, not a liability.

By presenting these models Riesman hoped to find a way in which a more autonomous type of social character might develop. "Since we live in a time of disenchantment . . . both rich and poor avoid any goals, personal or social, that seem out of step with peer-group aspirations."[26] The "disenchantment" that Riesman refers to may well have been a reflection of the trauma created by the existence of nuclear weapons. Worldwide it was feared that the atomic bombs that ended World War II changed forever the perception of war as "politics by other means." American children in classrooms during the 1950s practiced air-raid drills. Some families built bomb shelters; for others the fear that the cold war with Russia could turn hot at any moment was a daily burden. Nationally, the McCarthy era left a legacy of suspicion and distrust which served paradoxically to foster both isolation and conformity.

The military entered the argument about education in the person of Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover. Admiral Rickover, a leader in the research that led to the atomic submarine, spoke about "Education in a Nuclear Age." Rickover favored the European model of two entirely separate school systems after about age

eleven. "Nothing short of a complete reorganization of American education, preceded by a revolutionary reversal of education aims, can equip us for winning the educational race with the Russians."[27] Between 1955 and 1958, in a series of eight speeches and an appearance before a subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, Rickover expressed his discontent with American education. Rickover published his writings on the subject of *Education and Freedom* in 1959.

Speaking in April 1958, six months after Sputnik was launched, Admiral Rickover clearly laid blame for the "destruction of traditional education by the Dewey-Kilpatrick experimentalist philosophy . . . . The primary business of the school was not to train children in cooperative and mutually helpful living."[28] Rickover felt that the school's primary concern was with the identification and development of the intellect. Students must be educated "to the limits of their abilities." Average and below-average students were to be broadly educated; separate classes were advocated for the talented and gifted. Rickover advocated lengthening the school year and improving school administration and educators' salaries.

In another speech in the spring of 1958, Rickover described the inadequacies of teachers colleges. "Teachers colleges are now almost totally given over to pedagogy, school administration, and psychology . . . . We cannot make of pedagogy as such or of school administration as such a field of academic study comparable to law or medicine."[29] The National Education Association responded to Admiral Rickover in its publication, *Journal of Teacher Education,* September 1959. Richard I. Miller, NEA member, Committee on International Relations, traced the classic argument concerning the merits of "hard" pedagogy versus "soft" pedagogy to the

Greeks in antiquity.

> Isocrates, a contemporary of Plato, believed that the purpose of education was to create a man of affairs who was moral and who had personality and poise. Plato, on the other hand, believed that education should train one to seek out the eternal verities, then apply them toward molding the good society. Isocrates believed the practical was superior to the intellectual: Plato and Aristotle believed the reverse was true.[30]

The charge leveled by Rickover that teachers colleges failed to teach classes of substance touched a sensitive chord in Alma and others. Within the hierarchy of education, the notion that teachers colleges produced professionals trained to instruct rather than scholars educated to teach was not uncommon. In refuting Rickover's comments, Miller presented data from a comprehensive study recently completed by the National Commission on Teacher Education and Standards that revealed little difference in course material among the various institutions studied.

In spite of Rickover's harsh words, Miller acknowledged the Admiral "as the only government or military figure of national prominence to take time and effort to look into education."[31] Popular opinion polls agreed with Rickover that education is under-financed and that the federal government should assist with teachers' salaries and with school construction. Politicians took heed and in 1958 Congress passed the National Defense Education Act, which provided $900,000,000 for a variety of educational needs.

The problem of curriculum was not so easily solved. Alma became more seriously involved in the study of curriculum at Teachers College between 1965 and 1969.

THE CHALLENGE TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

A growing acceptance in the use of behavioral sciences to facilitate learning

met with Alma's approval in New York, as it had in Oakland with Dr. Mary Alice Sarvis. Alma came to Teachers College with twenty-seven years of classroom experience and was extremely aware of the interaction of mind and body. However, she remembers that "the experts at Columbia would not allow us to say both." The accent on the cognitive took precedence over the affective. Alma felt it was impossible to separate the behavioral sciences from the intellectual disciplines; both had authenticity and integrity. It was necessary to deal with feelings because they revealed, in Alma's words, "truth to experience." Such clarity about what feelings expressed made cognitive powers function more effectively. It was easier to make distinctions and think critically when feelings were acknowledged. This was not a case of either/or, rather an acceptance of "yes, but this also."

Alma and friends did not advocate what critics condemned. Using Riesman's terms, Alma and her friends, Bernice Baxter and Rosalind Cassidy, and certainly John Dewey for that matter, were not other-directed persons seeking to imitate their peers. Clearly, they would have met Riesman's criteria as inner-directed individuals. Alma favored cooperative learning because she sought to integrate students socially and intellectually. Her fundamental criticism of the system was directed at administrators who sought to categorize students. (In the educational jargon of the 1960s this was known as "tracking.")

The rationale for this ranking of student abilities sounded very much to Alma like a class consciousness, a "class" model of education. It was an accepted fact that social environment and heredity were factors that separated the few "bright" students, the many "average" students, and the few "slow" students. An educational system that perpetuated social diviseness was undemocratic. Ideally, the classroom offered an opportunity for integrating various abilities for the benefit of all.

Alma's concern about socializing children in the classroom was a matter of infinite complexity. It was simultaneously political, intellectual, spiritual, and humanistic. Primarily, it grew out of an awareness of the human need of children to realize their full potential. The cognitive and the affective were two parts of the whole person. She believed that to recognize the social component was not to deny the intellectual. On a university level, scholars easily acknowledged the need for "communities of discourse." The peer group provided both social and academic sustenance. How could it be different for children?

In addition, Baxter and Cassidy, and Alma too, celebrated "the group" out of the same concerns that Bode expressed as the unfulfilled hopes of progressive education. These teachers saw beyond the classroom window into the town square. In the long- standing argument, "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?" versus "Schools Reflect the Society They Serve," it was impossible to choose sides. Here again, the answer to both statements was, "yes, of course." Therein lay the challenge for the American public school system.

Alma was not surprised to read Admiral Rickover's ideas concerning the European school model- -one school based on training students to meet the practical needs of the society and a second school for the advanced and gifted to meet the essential need for leadership and creativity. Support for the American public school system had never been unanimous. Before Shafter High School opened in 1930, Alma heard discussions concerning how the curriculum should be shaped to meet the particular needs of a farming community. She recalls being startled at what she recognized intuitively was a discriminatory, "unAmerican," approach to education. Rather than a curriculum that was dynamic and interactive, that encouraged curiosity and creativity, some students were directed toward more

static, compartmentalized courses designed to meet the specific requirements of agriculture.

In fact, looking back Alma believes that her educational advocate, Mr. Hill at Wasco High School, approached education with a European view. For the serious student, Mr. Hill provided plenty of encouragement to complete a rigorous academic course of study. If, however, a student was disinterested in the incredible opportunity of a free education, Mr. Hill felt no need to persuade the student to consider the obvious consequences. Hill made no secret of his admiration for the Gloeckler family. David and Maggie epitomized the immigrant's keen appreciation for learning. Alma and her sisters entered high school determined to excel in fulfilling their parent's ambitions. The recognition Mr. Hill granted the family may also have been an expression of his gratitude as an educator for having such diligent students.

EDUCATION AND INDUSTRY

In the summer of 1957, before the launching of Sputnik and the resulting fallout, Alma had an extraordinary experience at Springfield College, Springfield, Massachusetts. Alma taught summer workshops at the college. Alcoa Corporation requested an opportunity to address all interested teachers on the needs of corporate America.

> ALMA: The gist went that science is way behind in the schools, that math is way behind in the schools, that industry needs scientists and needs mathematicians, because at the moment we already have enough capacity to produce, but we don't have the creativity by which to produce more goods.[32]

Along with the bid for more creative students to boost productivity, Alcoa explained that it was essential for business to create a subtle consumer dissatisfac-

tion. "When they are buying one [refrigerator], they're supposed to have the feeling that maybe this won't be good enough in the future." The teacher's part in such a schema was to identify the "gifted" students early and meet their every need. "Good" students were also to be valued because they were often good organizers and therefore "good for industry's more practical leadership." The majority of students represented "that large mass . . . . And what we need here is mass acquiescence for accelerating obsolescence."[33]

One teacher in the group complained about business luring science teachers out of the classroom with higher salaries. Once the teacher was hired, companies failed to provide opportunities for challenging work. The Alcoa businessmen's response confirmed that, indeed, this was "business as usual."

> ALMA: It was all right for big companies to hire these people and keep them off the market, because if they didn't use them, somebody else would. Competition means that you see to it that your company has the advantage if you can afford it.[34]

What Alma witnessed appears to be a graphic example of what historians of the era record as the symbiosis of government and industry (further validated, it seems, by the existence of a House subcommittee on Education and Labor). According to an account by Harvard political economist, Professor Robert B. Reich, in his book *The Work of Nations,* corporations clearly dictated educational policy to meet market needs. Mass production required mass consumption. To illustrate that the idea did not arrive full-blown in the 1950s, Reich included a lengthy quotation by educational expert Elwood P. Cubberly in 1934.

> Our schools are, in a sense, factories in which the raw materials are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life. The specifications for manufacturing come from the demands of the twentieth century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils to the specifications laid down.[35]

Reich explained that children moved from grade to grade as if "on factory

conveyor belts." Children "with the greatest capacity to absorb the facts, and with the most submissive demeanor were placed on a rapid track . . . those with the least capacity for fact retention and self-discipline, on the slowest." Most students were in the middle. As in any evaluation of a product, students were routinely subjected to standardized tests. "Product defects were taken off the line and returned for retooling."[36]

Reich's research revealed that Alma's frustration with the educational hierarchy was not an isolated experience. He wrote that teachers "were required to follow plans devised by specialists at the highest rungs of the educational hierarchy and transmitted down to them through layers "of middle management replicating the corporate chain of command. For purposes of more efficient production, "smaller school districts were steadily consolidated into every-larger ones, . . . through which ever-greater numbers of children could be processed smoothly and continuously."[37]

For Alma the Alcoa experience was a clear example of an elitist mentality that stifled the human spirit and ultimately weakened the fabric of government. By assigning a blatantly utilitarian purpose to education, the majority of students were denied the esthetic experience that enriched all learning.

WITTENBERG COLLEGE, SPRINGFIELD, OHIO, 1958-1961

In the fall of 1958 Alma decided to move away from Teachers College for a while in order to reconsider an approach to the dissertation. She left the sophistication of New York City to accept a teaching position at Wittenberg College, a small Lutheran liberal arts school in Springfield, Ohio. Leland Jacobs knew people at Wittenberg and put Alma in touch with the Education Department.

When she arrived on campus, Alma was surprised to learn that she was to teach arts and crafts to student teachers.

> ALMA: Well, that was another of those very wonderful experiences. It was similar to my experience in East Bakersfield high, when John Charles Thomas and those things happened. It was very similar. I felt very free. I could do what I wanted to do. And the students were very nervous because I was not telling them what to do and how to do it. And it took a good part of the first semester to assure them that they were not going to lose out this way.[38]

Alma's success with the arts and crafts classes resulted in an increase in the class size. She asked the supervisor of art in the Springfield public school system if he would consider collaborating in managing the growing classes.

> ALMA: So, he was very ready and very glad to come and join me. And the two of us worked together. And this really, really made this arts and crafts class more fun me, for him, for the students, and for everybody. And we all learned a lot because he had a really good background. He had been part of the Roosevelt era artists.[39]

Alma learned that her students had no idea of their personal creativity. "They would come whispering to me and tell me that, of course, they were not gifted. And they always needed patterns. . . . But they didn't want everybody else to know that." Alma assured her students, "This is not that kind of a class. I am not the artist. I don't have the artist's answer. I have answers about what the artist does, what art is, and the possibilities that there are for all of you to find your own way. And that own way of yours is there for you to find, and discover, and work out, and not be afraid." Alma knew, "they had this in their system. They'd had this in their system since they were little children. I knew this. I'd seen this all the way from kindergarten to high school to elementary. Upper and lower, I'd seen this."[40]

Another example of Alma's confidence in the innate ability of the creative spirit was found in an experience with a young student teacher. This young woman, a minister's daughter, was "stressed and bewildered" when Professor Thelma Dunn, in charge of student teachers, brought her to join Alma's group. It was Alma's task

to aid the student in connecting with a child who needed help in learning.

> ALMA: And I said, "You don't have to hurry. Make sure that you feel good about being ready to meet this little child. When you're ready, then we'll move ahead." Well, it evidently was a big success as far as she was concerned. And when you come to think of it, when an adult is open and ready with something - let's you and me do - there aren't very many children that don't respond to this. And I was sort of sure of that but she was not.[41]

The second year of Alma's stint at Wittenberg she sought to bring to college classes the same interdisciplinary emphasis that she used in East Bakersfield High School. To begin with, Alma asked her students about topics of discussion in their sociology class or the history class.

> ALMA: So, I wasn't getting anywhere with that. Then I changed my tactics and I gave them an assignment. I said, "We need to know something about these various fields of knowledge. Who wants to interview Professor so and so in history? Who wants to . . . . " And I said, "here are a group of questions you can ask." Such questions as, "In what way is history different from science?" And what are the key ideas in whatever it was. These were sort of epistemological questions. "What is the nature of your field?"[42]

Alma remembers that the professors interviewed were glad to participate in the sharing of knowledge. "So, they were not only experts in their field of knowledge, they were participants in education from the point of view of the Education Department. I got a very high mark from the faculty for that . . . and the students liked it too."[43]

However, Alma did not receive "high marks" from her department chairman. "He was uncomfortable with almost everything I did." One obvious area of dissatisfaction was Alma's inability to work successfully with the tachistoscope, a programmed reading machine. The machines were purchased by Chairman Slaymaker to facilitate remedial reading. Alma was unimpressed with machine learning and she risked being labeled "insubordinate" by saying so. In spite of personal reservations, she attempted to utilize the equipment. "I saw no way that

these machines could help these students become better students of reading in their university college courses."[44] For Alma the personal element in teaching/learning was difficult to replicate when interacting with a machine.

Toward the end of the 1961 school year, Alma learned that because she lacked a doctoral degree, her contract for the following year would not be renewed. "Well, in one sense I was kind of ashamed. You know, you are supposed to be humiliated by a thing like this. (chuckle) I was more puzzled."[45] Alma realized her termination was more than a matter of "degree" because another member of the faculty, lacking a doctorate, was actually made chairman of a department.

> ALMA: So, there was a bit of reality here that I was facing, reorienting myself to that. And, of course, he was a man, I was a woman. I was in the arts; I was only in education. I didn't please . . . . And I said, "No, I can't be ashamed because I did a good job." I know I did a good job. I thought of the arts and I remembered all that. And it was as if the chairman hardly noticed all that popularity and publicity we were getting . . . .[46]

When Alma reminisced about her three years at Wittenberg, she had only good memories. The "beautiful, beautiful campus" impressed Alma.

> ALMA: The chapel provided one of the really nice experiences on that campus. In the middle of the day you were busy teaching, and then could quietly slip away and sit in that chapel, a beautiful chapel. There were always the nicest services, very simple. It was a real asset for me to be there and to enjoy this.[47]

Under the auspices of the Lutheran church, the university attracted eminent scholars such as philosopher Martin Heidegger and theologian Huston Smith. Alma was in the audience when Senator John F. Kennedy spoke at Wittenberg on his campaign swing through Ohio in 1960. From time to time she joined other faculty members who traveled to nearby Antioch College to enjoy campus activities. One of the highlights of Alma's visits to Antioch was listening to an address by theologian Paul Tillich. Tillich piqued Alma's interest in Christian existentialist ideas about the lack of meaning in contemporary life.

Alma enjoyed friendships among the "wonderful faculty," although the friendships with few exceptions were not as lasting as those she enjoyed with Anne Jones, Madge Martin, Rose Davidson, Doris Holiday, Bernice Cofer and Irean Coyner in Oakland. Two Wittenberg friends, Dr. Robert Goeser and his wife Isabel, moved to California at the same time Alma left Wittenberg. Today the Goesers live in the Bay Area and, much to Alma's satisfaction, the friendship endures.

In the summer of 1961, Alma attended a family reunion in Hepburn, Saskatchewan, to celebrate the 50th wedding anniversary of her father's sister, Aunt Susie Gloeckler Gossen. Maggie, David, Alma's sister Frances and other California family made the journey north. The gathering included sixty-eight family members, which represented about half of the Gloeckler kin. Looking at a family photograph of the occasion and the comfortable affluence it conveys, it is difficult not be filled with nostalgia and admiration for the young Russian immigrants, Carl Gloeckler and Marie Wiens, who came to the new world carrying all their earthly possessions in a trunk. Alma's primary purpose in telling her story is to create an enduring legacy for her family, both Gloecklers and Peters, past and present.

NEW YORK STATE COLLEGE, POTSDAM, NEW YORK, 1961-65

With the assistance of Teachers College Office of Employment, Alma located a position at the New York State College in Potsdam, New York. As a sign of the times, the State of New York required her to sign certificates that stated she was not involved in any subversive activities. In the fall of 1961, Alma began work in charge of kindergarten education instruction. Although this was Alma's first experience in kindergarten, she felt well prepared. Workshops offered in Oakland

with Lucille Lindberg at Queens College brought her up to date on new teaching methods of math and science. "And then I was to teach language arts and reading and I knew plenty about that."[48]

Soon another teaching opportunity came her way that was to have a significance unrecognized at the time. "Now I had my first opportunity to teach children's literature in the primary and upper grades. I had a lot of Jacobs's stuff ready. I had all his booklets. I had his ideas. I had his approaches. So I feel I did a good job."[49] In Potsdam Alma organized her first storyteller's group. Helping her "story girls" presented Alma with the happy opportunity to use her many years of classroom experience with children. In addition, her association with Leland Jacobs gave Alma a heightened awareness of language and of the qualities essential in a good story. This interest in story eventually led to a topic for Alma's doctoral dissertation, the consideration of a basis of criticism of realistic children's fiction.

Another joy to be discovered at Potsdam was the Music Department. "Potsdam had the most magnificent Music Department you could imagine. They had everything . . . . " Included were music history, theory, composition, analysis and performers of outstanding caliber, solos and ensembles in voice and instrumentals. The orchestra received rave reviews and was acknowledged to be in the vanguard of the new, the contemporary, the innovative. "Way out there in the sticks," to use Alma's words, the Music Department invited experimental young musicians such as Karlheinz Stockhuasen and John Cage to demonstrate the ordered "abandon" of percussive expression.[50]

Much to Alma's delight, she was able to join evening meetings that the Arts Department initiated. A general invitation was issued to the local community and all faculty members to participate.

> ALMA: These wonderful people came together at night and we talked art, we talked theory, we enjoyed. We just enjoyed each other and we just did every kind of thing. Free! Free! Free! Exploration! And I felt so at home. Here I was way out there in the sticks. And I was all by myself. And I was finding a really nice home up there.[51]

While Alma was at Potsdam between 1961 and 1965, school integration and civil rights became front-page news and Alma became involved with student activities. The Supreme Court decision on May 17, 1954, Brown et. al. vs Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, decreed that school integration was to proceed "with all deliberate speed." However, by 1963 in 90 percent of the 17 southern and border states segregation remained unchanged.

A bus strike led by Martin Luther King, Jr., and supported by the black citizens of Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 gave civil rights a prominent place on the national agenda. During the early 1960s black and white social activists worked hard to raise the consciousness of the American public in an attempt to confront the injustice of racism. On July 2, 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the most comprehensive civil rights law in history. Support for the law was by no means unanimous. Congress debated for eighty-three days, the longest debate in Senate history, before finally passing the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Although discrimination against blacks was most evident in the South as a consequence of Jim Crow laws dating from the late nineteenth century, the northern states had little claim to virtue in desegregation. An essay by Robert A. Dentler, professor of Sociology and Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, "Barriers to Northern School Desegregation," stated: "Northern public schools, from kindergarten to the graduate level, have been racially segregated on an extensive scale since Reconstruction." The study, completed in 1962 by the New York Education Department, revealed that "hundreds of elementary and secondary

schools in the Northeast and Midwest had student bodies composed of more than 90 per cent Negroes."[52]

The factors that Alma observed in California as contributing to racial imbalance in the Oakland schools were much the same in the East: population density, segregated housing patterns, class structure and local politics. In the North, two-thirds of all the racially segregated public schools were located in ten of the largest cities, according to the New York study. The smaller towns appeared to offer more promise in effectively implementing integration.

Alma remembers very few black students in her classes at Potsdam; however, concerns about civil rights in the small town were very much a topic of conversation. Professors and students began considering ways in which they could become part of the solution. Two of Alma's friends on the faculty, a historian and a sociologist, decided they would try to raise funds for themselves and interested students to travel South and participate in voter registration. The men consulted with Alma, who knew many of the businesses in the small town because she walked the main street daily traveling to and from the college.

> ALMA: And my song [to the businessmen] was that this was the most admirable attitude for young people to take on. Completely self-reliant and self-responsible for conditions of today--ready to participate. And this was a wonderful educative venture on the part of these two young professors.[53]

Much to the surprise of the students, the small businessmen in the town contributed generously to the cause. Soon the churches in the town became involved. A church representative called Alma one evening and said, "We are interested in this idea of university, church, and community common endeavor. We would like a faculty member to represent the school in this three-way church, school and society."[54] Alma reluctantly declined the position because she learned in the

spring of 1965 that her contract at Potsdam would not be renewed.

At the time of fall registration in 1963, the Chairman of the Education Department told Alma not to appear at registration but he gave no explanation for the change in procedure. The practice at Potsdam was for teachers to assist students with selecting classes. Alma learned from her students that they were unable to register for her science and math Early Childhood classes as a result of her absence. Students already enrolled in the course of study would continue; however, new students were discouraged from enrolling in those classes. As enrollment in the Early Childhood Program diminished, Alma spoke with Chairman Satterlee and learned from him that the program was in jeopardy. This was inexplicable to Alma because national programs such as "Head Start," promoting early childhood education, received frequent local publicity.

In the spring of 1965, Dr. Satterlee advised Alma that there was "no demand for kindergarten classes" and the program would be discontinued. Also, he informed her that the English Department intended to assume her responsibility for teaching children's literature. Both of Alma's classes were eliminated. For the second time in four years, Alma was unemployed.

> ALMA: My friends, especially this sociologist and those faculty that enjoyed my students, they came to me and said, "There is no reason for you to have to go." They said, "We'll fight for you if you want to."[55]

Although Alma was heartened by the confidence her colleagues expressed, she chose not to enlist their aid in protesting her termination. She was concerned about the career risk for her peers in supporting her cause. Alma had no interest in participating in what to her was the same "power game" she had seen played out in other places. More importantly, Alma felt it was once again time for her to move on. Her confidence in Satterlee's leadership had slowly eroded and she had no wish

to remain at Potsdam under the circumstances.

Before leaving Potsdam Alma visited with Professor Harder, Chairman of the English Department. Alma worked in Harder's department and was aware of his disdain for the "professional" accent placed on the Education Department and the Arts. Alma admired Harder and wanted to meet with him to discuss two issues. First, she wished to disabuse him of his prejudice against the "professional" schools and second, she sought to persuade Dr. Harder that the children's literature classes that she taught had genuine academic value and as such should be included in the Humanities program. The visit was successful on both counts.

Harder expressed regret that Alma was leaving and concern about what she would do next. Alma was most delighted, however, that during their conversation Harder listened carefully to her remarks and acknowledged her point of view. Not all children's literature could be summarily dismissed as light-weight entertainment. Nor did the Education Department consist of courses which taught teachers how to become "magicians with bags of tricks" to be used in the classroom. Nor were music and art classes taught at universities only for vocational purposes.[56]

When Alma received the news that she would not be returning in the fall of 1965, she tried to understand what happened. In an exit interview that Alma requested with Dr. Satterlee, he told her she "was not college material." Beyond his obvious disatisfaction with her, the only clue Alma had to her termination was a cryptic remark by Satterlee that she had "over done the Arts bit." When Alma later expressed consternation regarding the comment, a friend chuckled about Alma's naivetė. Because the Arts and Music were among the most highly regarded on campus, Alma later wondered if Satterlee thought that "I was catering to my own advantage."[57] The departments were not related; therefore, such an interpretation

appears questionable.

> ALMA: Does this have to do with gender? I think at that time I was pretty sure had I been a man, and made the contribution that I made to that school, he [Dr. Satterlee] would have been proud of me. And he would have given me full professorship.[58]

GENDER AS A BASIS FOR DISCRIMINATION

In her teaching career of over thirty years, Alma had received only acceptance and respect for her performance. In 1955, the evaluations of two faculty members at Queens College convinced Dr. Rivlin to hire her sight unseen. Dr. Leland Jacobs, nationally recognized authority on children's literature, acknowledged Alma's abilities when he accepted her into the doctoral program at Teachers College. Alma's difficulties in completing her dissertation did not shake Jacobs's confidence in her ability to complete the work in her own time.[59] It appears then that her scholarship was not in question.

One reason worth examining in assessing Alma's termination is the discrimination prevalent against women throughout society. In spite of the number of women in the profession, education provided no safeguards against gender bias. Older women especially were held up to ridicule, as society mocked the old maid school teacher and giggled about the spinster. As women aged, the culture accepted them only in the role of grandmother. Considered sexless (read useless) after menopause, women in America had difficulty gaining the respect afforded aging women in other cultures.

A year or so earlier a controversial book written by Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique,* shed light on the problem of sexism in America. Friedan contended that "as the Victorian culture did not permit women to accept or gratify their basic sexual needs, our culture does not permit women to accept or gratify

their basic need to grow and fulfill their potentialities as human beings, a need which is not solely defined by their sexual role."[60] American culture permitted women to fulfill their creative potential only in motherhood.

Friedan was a reporter and free-lance writer in 1963. She had graduated *summa cum laude* from Smith College in 1942, was married and a parent, and had practiced as a clinical psychologist. In 1957, Friedan sent a questionnaire to 200 classmates in an effort to understand the origins of the feminine mystique as the dominant social standard for American women. Friedan wanted to know the impact of this thinking, and how it influenced those who grew up during her era.

"The feminine mystique says that the highest value and the only commitment for women is the fulfillment of their own femininity." A woman is truly feminine when she accepts her own nature. And her nature can find fulfillment only "in sexual passivity, male domination and nurturing maternal love."[61] It stated that woman was not inferior to man, just different. And that difference was the woman's ability to give birth to new life, the ultimate creative act.

Friedan's explanation for society's unquestioning acceptance of the feminine mystique was the profound authority of Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theories about women. His definition of the sexual nature of woman gave the conventional image of femininity new authority. Women who were influenced by Freudian teachings pitied "those neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy women who wanted to be poets or physicists or presidents."[62] Freud's diagnosis of women who wanted to have the same freedoms in their lives as men was expressed in sexual terms as "penis envy." Much of what the analyst described as characteristic of universal human nature was merely characteristic of his clientele, middle-class European men and women at the end of the nineteenth century.[63]

By the time Friedan wrote her popular best-seller in 1963, the notion of cultural relativity was unanimously accepted by social scientists. It was known that "an individual's need to grow and learn can be satisfied, denied, repressed, atrophied, evoked or discouraged by his culture as can his sexual needs."[64] In spite of this intellectual awareness, Freud's theory of femininity remained unchallenged by those who might have known better. Friedan understood this compliance because Freud's notion that "anatomy is destiny" seemed "more comfortable, solid, real, scientific" compared to the "unexplored country of the unconscious mind."[65]

Friedan reported that many who adopted the notion, "not the few psychoanalysts, but the many popularizers, sociologists, educators, ad-agency manipulators, magazine writers, child experts, marriage counselors, ministers, cocktail-party authorities could not have known what Freud himself meant by penis envy." However, the idea was accepted in the 1940s as "the literal explanation of all that was wrong with American women."[66] The result was that girls who grew up "almost resourceful enough to meet the problems of the fission-fusion era" were told by the experts of the day to go home and play with their dolls.[67]

Women's problems with equality certainly did not begin in the 1940s. Before the turn of the century American author, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, wrote an autobiographical short story, "The Yellow Wallpaper," about the effect of female socialization. Gilman's story was far more chilling than Ibsen's account of Nora's *Doll House.* Friedan included an account of the "passionate journey" undertaken by the heroines of the earlier feminist movement. She sought to understand what happened to those early victories, to chronicle change within her own lifetime.

Anthropologist Margaret Mead, one of the few recognized female intellectuals, did not in Friedan's view promote the feminist cause. Although Dr.

Mead made an outstanding contribution to the study of cultural differences, she joined other "functional social scientists in their emphasis on adjusting to society as we find it, on living our lives within the framework of the conventional cultural definitions of the male and female roles."[68] Mead was aware that all cultures assign behavior. But her message for American women was that it is better to preserve the sexual limitations established by a culture than to set about change.

Dr. Mead's well-known work, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), was based on research she conducted in the South Pacific during the 1920s. She learned that personality traits usually named masculine or feminine "are as lightly linked to sex, as are the clothing, the manners and the form of head dress that a society at a given period assigns to either sex."[69] During her stay on the islands, Dr. Mead learned that in the three "primitive" Samoan cultures she observed, the natives considered having a baby as a woman's greatest achievement. Friedan's criticism is that "the feminine mystique took from Mead not her vision of woman's great untested human potential but this glorification of the female sexual function." A woman could give birth; there was no need to develop her other creative abilities. Friedan's research concluded that Mead was taken so literally that "procreation became a cult, a career, to the exclusion of every other kind of creative endeavor . . . ."[70]

In a later work *Male and Female* (1955), that Friedan describes as "the cornerstone of the femine mystique," Dr. Mead warned that in attempting to "embark on a program of rearing both men and women to make their full and special contributions - the task will be very difficult."[71] In Friedan's view Mead's cautionary note discouraged enlisting the gifts of women in non-traditional fields because of the cultural imbalance such change might bring.

Other writers, such as Helene Deutsch, believed that woman's intellectuality

was to a large extent developed at the loss of valuable feminine qualities. The intellectual woman becomes masculinized.[72] Rather than developing her "warm, intuitive knowledge," when a woman attempted to enter the world of the male scholar her thinking became "cold, unproductive." Marynia Farham and Ferdinand Lundberg in *The Lost Sex* (1947) declared that in spite of political gains and beneficial social programs, feminism "was at its core a deep illness."[73] The more educated the woman, the greater chance for sexual dysfunction.

Friedan was critical of "sex-directed" educators at Teachers College, Columbia University, for promoting "educational functionalism." She shared the concerns of Riesman and Rickover that education neglected "vigorous mastery of the major intellectual disciplines" in favor of "life adjustment." Friedan saw this as particularly damaging to women. As the "soft" pedagogy of the social sciences, such as psychology, anthropology, and sociology, "permeated the total scholarly atmosphere, education for femininity spread from Mills to the proudest bastions of the women's Ivy League." Female students in these classes learning about themselves were given a "sophisticated soup of uncritical prescriptions and presentiments, far more binding on the mind" than the traditional dictums about women's behavior.[74] The uncompromising intellectual standards that formerly had no gender basis were now considered authentically inappropriate studies for women.

While Alma was teaching at Queens College and attending classes at Teachers College in April, 1956, an essay titled "Women Today and Their Education," by Ester Lloyd-Jones, appeared in the school's publication, *Teachers College Record.* The author made no mention of curriculum; her concern was the declining enrollment of women in higher education. Lloyd-Jones presented figures showing that fifty percent more girls than boys graduated from high school between

1869 and 1920. After 1920 the differential between boys and girls declined steadily to only 10% in 1950.

In spite of the greater number of girls who graduated from high school, the freshman classes in college each fall included a much larger number of men than women. Lloyd-Jones lamented, "of the half of the best brains who do not go on to college, two-thirds are women." Figures on women in graduate school were dismal. In 1954-55, women received 36 percent of the Bachelors' degrees granted in the United States, 33 per cent of the Master's degrees, and only 9 percent of the doctorates. (Alma was in rarefied company.) Because marriage usually curtailed women's educational ambitions, Lloyd-Jones advocated continuing education for women in their "twenties, thirties, forties, and fifties."

Lloyd-Jones was not shy about repeating criticism from foreign sources that undoubtedly echoed her own.

> Some distinguished educators from abroad . . . have asked why the United States is so fervently, even so defensively devoted to the idea of coeducation, especially for girls and women. Some of them have been so forthright as to compare our early marriage in this country with the mating that takes place in primitive societies.

In the same article, Lloyd-Jones reported on the Commission on the Education of Women of the American Council on Education.

> The Commission questions the assumption, made uncritically by some, that their biological nature inevitably predisposes girls and women to accept ideas simply because they are acceptable to others, not because they are true. There seems to be good evidence that it is subtle social conditioning that brings about this result.[75]

Friedan and Lloyd-Jones were not strangers. In her acknowledgments Friedan listed Lloyd-Jones among the "educators valiantly fighting the feminine mystique." Lloyd-Jones's comments affirm Friedan's thesis that the feminine mystique represented a stereotype that uses a woman's biological nature to define her behavior. In fact it really goes a step further, suggesting that women not only

are psychologically immature but lack intelligence and integrity. Encouraging girls to marry and begin family life right after graduation from high school was a neat way of postponing or eliminating further education. Rather than confusing young women with information about the world and its wicked ways, a limited education required them to rely on their husband for all they needed to know.

Publication of the essay by a female scholar at Teachers College challenges Friedan's blanket denunciation of the school's endorsement of "life adjustment" at the expense of female scholarship. Ester Lloyd-Jones, Maxine Greene, Roma Gans, and Alice Miel, all published scholars at Teachers College, were acknowledged as contributors to the field of education. Alma remembered "life adjustment" as the jargon of the times; however, she never felt overt gender bias during the years she attended Teachers College, 1956-1958, and 1965-1969. In Friedan's zeal to look anew at woman's plight, she may have in this instance, overstated her case. That should not, however, denigrate either the validity of Friedan's thesis or the magnitude of this social dilemma.

It was understood that female scholars placed themselves decidedly out of step with behavioral norms that decreed marriage and motherhood as the natural role for women. It seems plausible that individuals such as Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, President of Mills College until 1943, achieved a measure of credibility in academia because she was widowed with two sons. Evidently, Dr. Reinhardt was working only to support her family.

On the other hand, as Friedan tells the tale, Reinhardt could have been at the right place at the right time (1916-1943). A window of opportunity for women closed in the 1940s in the social conservatism that swept the land following World War II. "The brilliant scholar who did not marry but inspired many generations of

college women to the pursuit of truth, was sullied as an educator of women." In Friedan's words, the female scholar was "guilty of an unfeminine commitment, to have kept working in her field all those hard, grinding, ill-paid years to the Ph.D."[76]

Lynn White, the Stanford man who followed Reinhardt into the Presidency of Mills College, wrote a book on the subject, *Educating Our Daughters,* in 1950. White, it seems, took the feminine mystique to the extreme in reshaping the Mills curriculum.

> One may prophesy with confidence that as women begin to make their distinctive wishes felt in curricular terms, not merely will every women's college and coeducational institution offer a firm nuclear course in the Family, but from it will radiate curricular series dealing with food and nutrition, textiles and clothing, health and nursing, housing planning and interior decoration, garden design and applied botany, and child development.[77]

Comments by White, Mead, Friedan and Lloyd-Jones about women in general and female scholars in particular, give insight into the social milieu of the early to mid-1960s when Wittenberg and Potsdam advised Alma she was no longer needed on the faculty. It is not to suggest that these notions were so completely pervasive as to interfere with intelligent thought. However, given the prejudices of the times, it seems plausible that the female scholar was more easily expendable because she was already suspect in her pursuit of knowledge. Most likely, she would not be in the profession at all if someone had proposed marriage. If single women were presumed to pursue academic careers as a means of compensating for the absence of family life, it was not necessary to take their contributions to scholarship seriously. And by holding a female scholar's dedication to the profession in question, she was effectively neutralized.

Alma had been aware for a long while, maybe from the time she was nine or

ten baby-siting in the infant room at the Mennonite Church, of societal differences between the sexes. In her words this was "a given." But within her own family, there appeared to be an equality of effort and concern in every aspect of family life. David and Maggie Gloeckler respected each other and the contribution each brought to their marriage.

Besides her father, Alma felt respected by Reverend Klassen, the shepherd to the little flock in Great Deer, and by Mr. Marshall, who spent his final days preparing Alma and Myrtle for the Provincial examinations in Waldheim. Upon arrival in Shafter, California, Mr. Hill noticed Alma and Myrtle and never doubted their ability to excel academically. The principal, evidently unfazed by gender roles, did not want the girls wasting time typing or serving the faculty luncheon. This approval by important male authority figures in her life may have contributed to Alma's reluctance to name the problem of sexism. Because gender bias was not consistently overt, identifying the prejudice was confusing. Probably the first time that Alma became viscerally aware of it was the episode involving Teena's haircut. Teena and the family were held up to judgment in the Shafter Mennonite Church. Maggie never took the incident seriously and that allowed Alma to dismiss it as an aberration.

At Tabor College the young men ran the show, although women comprised about one-half of the student body. Here at age twenty Alma became sensitive to a reality that hurt, but she called it "snobbery." Remembering her first teaching positions at Shafter, Alma spoke about her principals, Mr. Nickel and Mr. Olsen, a football coach. Both men were insensitive to female staff. Once again, she did not attribute this to gender bias, but simply to ignorance. At USC in the summer of 1932, Alma experienced what she recognized as a real bona fide encounter with

sexism.

> ALMA: Until one summer it hit me like a rock! . . . I was taking courses in secondary education to get my secondary credential. There were more women than men. And then one day towards the end, Dr. Teuton called us women in and suggested that since we had many women in the profession we need to encourage our young men to stay with the elementary program as administrators. So, he felt the need of giving the men the As and he wanted us to be willing to take the Bs--since the distribution was more important than the quality, I guess. And we should be willing for the good of the profession.[78]

Alma and the other women took the Bs, as Dr. Teuton knew they would.

At East Bakersfield High School a male member of the music department presumed to make decisions about events that were within Alma's realm.

> ALMA: This was something I had never experienced before. No brother-- I never had a brother, we were all girls--no teacher in the elementary had played this kind of a game. And I realized that this was the end of my career in East Bakersfield High School.[79]

Alma moved on to Mills College, and from there into the Oakland Public School system. During her Oakland years male chauvinism does not appear to have been an issue worthy of recall in telling her story. The struggle in Oakland was with the realization that hierarchy existed in all aspects of life and everywhere it was controlling. In New York at Teachers College, Professor Leland Jacobs was an ideal mentor, confident of Alma's judgment in discovering for herself what she needed to say and do. This masculine approval from someone she greatly respected conveyed unspoken equality. Surely, this was balm for the spirit when Alma returned to Teachers College in 1965 after her rejection at Wittenberg and Potsdam.

The connection between self-esteem and gender is subtle. It is quite possible that in young adulthood the bias against woman enabled Alma to "know" on an intuitive level that her "rights" were conditional. Rather than claim equality for

herself, Alma instead concentrated on claiming it for others. To the extent she was successful in empowering others, Alma validated her own life.

As a child Alma was sensitive about looking different from her blonde sisters. This sensitivity to the outsider made her keenly aware of her father's reaction to a black porter on a train ride to Saskatoon in 1913. Alma knew something was amiss but she could not name what her father's behavior conveyed. When she asked her father if black people had souls, David sobered sufficiently to realize that he was revealing his prejudices.

When Alma arrived in the United States as a self-conscious teenager, she was acutely aware that she was a foreigner. In adulthood, feeling as an outsider herself, Alma empathized with the Okie children in Shafter, with the Japanese Americans at Tule Lake, with the blacks in Oakland. She worked with poor children in Hell's Kitchen in New York the summer before she entered her doctoral program at Teachers College. Alma came to know these feelings of empathy as part of her missionary calling.

By the time she finished college, Alma knew about the factors that contributed to social inequality. She knew that people of color and those without money were clearly on the bottom of the hierarchical ladder that she so disdained. Alma was also aware at some deep level that she identified with the "victim." It does not seem to have occurred to Alma until well into later life that society is prejudiced against her as a woman. This seems to indicate that social pressure to maintain the status quo is so intense that the victim herself is socialized to accept inequality.[80]

When Alma began to tell her story, she slowly became aware that conditioning in gender bias was so effective that she uncharacteristically accepted it as an absolute. Generally, Alma did not react to feminists complaining about

discrimination with the same degree of outrage she reserved for similar treatment of minorities. She could blame the system for many things but not until recently could she allow herself to consider the full implications of gender. Alma perceived sexism in global terms as a human rights issue. Only recently has she identified this as a political, civil rights matter.

Conditioning aside, Alma may not have recognized active sex discrimination because she identified with women whom she admired, all of whom led successful lives within the social parameters of gender. Alma has had the great good fortune to be surrounded by remarkably fine women during her life: mother Maggie, grandmother Marie Wiens, each of Alma's many aunts, her siblings, her mentors and colleagues. All of these women were either married or taught school. Her heroines were granted a measure of independence and permission to excel within prescribed limits. Alma's attention, therefore, was not directed to the limitations of gender. Instead, she was inspired by the personal virtues and admirable accomplishments of the women she knew best.

When Alma learned in the spring of 1965 that she was not returning to Potsdam, she was fifty-nine years of age. She knew that she had neither the desire nor the power to challenge Satterlee's decision. To be told that she was not "college material" does not seem to have caused her great anxiety. This was, however, a time of soul-searching. In trying to discern whether she should pursue further studies, Alma was aware of both her age and her sex.

She knew, too, that she thoroughly enjoyed the university atmosphere. Years of classroom experiences provided an invaluable basis for her part in the communities of discourse found on campus. Alma absorbed the arguments between the advocates of soft and hard pedagogy, and, typically, she sought to integrate the

truths of each. Ultimately, it was the intellectual challenge of the unfinished business left behind seven years earlier that played a major role in her decision to return to Teachers College.

In her personal correspondence to Dr. Leland Jacobs, dated February 7, 1964, Alma had already explored the possibilities of completing her degree.

> I am prepared to confront the fact that failure is of necessity a large part of being human, even though in "star-like" fashion we seem, here in America, to see every failure as a tragedy. Suffering yes, tragedy only when we give up . . . . If I can add an inch, one step, "for one child's sake," for one teacher's sake, my efforts shall not be wasted.

TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1965--1969

> ALMA: So, I landed in New York. And Jacobs wasn't sure just how long it would take for the Board at the University to reinstate me . . . . But here I was walking across 120th and Amsterdam to the university, and the sun was shining . . . and I said, "This is amazing. I'm not afraid, but I have no idea where I am going." Inside of me, I suddenly spoke low German, *"eck hab soh met mien krohm taou daounen."* I have so much with my confusion and my mess to do . . . . And I was laughing. I wasn't even scared then, but I was stating a fact. I was really in terrible confusion - *krohm* it was - all of it was *krohm*. (Alma later interpreted *krohm* more precisely as "clutter.")

The next minute Alma spoke again, this time in high German. Translated: "And over the firmament a Presence beckons, grounded in mortal death. It breaks out of darkening voids, swings through all eternity, and rings out as in song."

> ALMA: I don't know the meaning of it even today. But it was as though that I knew I was here in New York, ready to do something. And I would be ready, somehow to find out what it was.[81]

One attempt to interpret Alma's experience could be directed at the religious symbolism expressed. Her earliest memories connected music and prayer; the Mennonite Brethren hymns celebrated the triumph of life over death. Faith in Christ, the Messiah, meant that one does not experience the pain, the darkness, and uncertainty in life alone. As Christ overcame death through resurrection, Alma lived with the hope that she too could survive whatever *"krohm"* life presented.

Leaving rejection behind in Potsdam, returning to New York, although uncertain of how to proceed or where the path was leading--this was an act of faith. Perhaps her peace of mind came from a reassurance, carried securely out of childhood, that always and everywhere "over the firmament a Presence beckons."

Alma joined the beautiful Riverside Church, endowed by the Rockefeller family, not far from Columbia University. "Riverside church was really a multiracial, multinational, multi- international community . . . . The church was in the middle of the conflict redefining what is the place for the church" in society.[82] Riverside regularly participated in community affairs. And during the civil rights activities of the 1960s, the church was in the vanguard of many marches. Alma participated with other church members when a caravan of buses traveled from New York to Washington, D.C., to join the protests of those camping across the street from the White House in Lafayette Park.

She thoroughly enjoyed all that New York had to offer, the museums, the theater, the parks. "And you could walk from one place to another. And you could take the subway very easily. So that, I could get, for instance, to any plays or theaters or concert in town more easily than people who had cars because the transportation was so good. I went to church regularly. And I felt myself much more at home in New York than I ever thought I would be."

> ALMA: I was also secretly enjoying the fact that I was giving myself the privilege of entertaining myself and entertaining my curiosity, wondering. I could wonder about almost anything and I could go and buy still another book. I could go through those volumes, I could go way up in the stacks and find these absolutely unbelievable things and say to myself, "there is no end to this!" [83]

Although Alma returned to Teachers College with a desire to complete her studies, she definitely was not fixated on finishing her dissertation. Her obvious delight with her surroundings and activities reflected a personal belief that time

spent in extracurricular pursuits was beneficial. Alma's professional observation that learning possessed an element of simultaneity permitted her to indulge herself in a manner not previously enjoyed. Rather than working single-mindedly on her dissertation in the library, her behavior conveyed Plato's reassurance, "All that you need to know is within you." At age sixty, Alma seemed to confirm Erik Erikson's paradigm of adult development as it related to generativity. Erikson proposed that the gift of years emboldens one to claim value for lessons learned through life experience. These years are enriched by sharing wisdom with others.

The courses offered at Teachers College were another source of delight. One course with Dr. Tewksbury allowed students to hear international visiting scholars discuss issues of current interest. Thirty years later, Alma can recreate the classes with Leland Jacobs, Philip Phenix, and Arno Bellack, as she can those with Bill Hartschorn at USC in 1931. The ideas argued and discussed in these classes contributed to her understanding of the world and her place in it.

> ALMA: One of the most desirable qualities of all those years was actually this readiness and openness to ask more questions and to be satisfied with the best answers one could come up with, without that necessary sense of the finished, and the indisputable, the absolute .... So that's what made me feel also, that if I could do the best I could and finish something, that would not mean that I was satisfied. But that would be a kind of culmination. That would be like a road map. Like this far I have come and there is more that is left to do at another point.[84]

What Alma described was the mind-set that allowed her to finish her dissertation. The insight that it was not her task to say "the final word" on the subject supplied the energy needed to begin and end the work. In order to maintain such a healthy point of view it is essential to have the support of peers struggling with the same challenge, i.e., defining limits. Alma lost that support system when she returned to San Jose following completion of her dissertation in 1969.

PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION, THE INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE

Besides acknowledging Professor Leland Jacobs's influence on her intellectual awareness, Alma also noted the contribution of Professor Philip H. Phenix, philosophy of education. Alma's interest in "knowing" was kindled at USC in the early 1930s summer classes when she was working on her credential in secondary education. As an educator concerned about unanswered questions, and genuinely interested in the origins of knowledge, Alma easily found her way to Phenix's class, "Ways of Knowing" - how we know what we know.

In 1956, when Alma was a new student at Teachers College, Phenix published a paper entitled "Key Concepts and the Crisis in Learning," arguing that by understanding key concepts in fields of knowledge, the student is empowered to approach learning more efficiently. Alma was intrigued by the notion of unlocking a discipline by discovering the "keys" and learning how to use them. Upon her return in 1965, she enrolled in Phenix's classes. One text used for the class was a book published by Phenix in 1964, *Realms of Meaning: A Philosophy of the Curriculum for General Education,* that elaborated on the use of this method of learning.

Phenix sought to give hope to educators in a time when "a search for meaning" was the focus of theologians, semanticists, analytic philosophers, esthetics, and psychiatry. Events of the twentieth century created an existentialist despair: a severe international economic depression, two world wars of devastating proportions and endless smaller wars, the development of nuclear weaponry that threatened planetary destruction, the depersonalization of workers in a heavily industrialized marketplace with the resulting stresses on family life. There was social disorder threatened in the struggle for civil rights by minorities and women, and collective shock and grief when an assassin took the life of the nation's leader,

President John F. Kennedy in 1963. According to Phenix,

> In wide areas of modern life the meaning of personal relatedness has disappeared from view. People feel isolated and estranged from nature, from themselves, from one another and from the ultimate sources of their being. The depersonalization and collectivization of life is far advanced. The plundering of natural resources, the destruction of living things, and the manipulation of human beings are widely practiced.[85]

Phenix believed that this vacuum presented a challenge to education to "contribute to the restoration of meaning." The challenge was to be met by recognizing "the centrality of meaning in human life" and in creating a curriculum that provided ways of knowing. Education could act as a countervailing agent against the forces of meaninglessness. Curriculum could order the content of education and offset "the fragmentation of experience that is one of the sources of meaninglessness . . . . If some defensible criteria can be found for reducing the mass of material to assimilable proportions, a major contribution can be made to the quest for meaning." Another source of meaningless was the rapidity of change in modern life. Much of what was learned was soon obsolete. With this in mind, Phenix argued for selection of knowledge with "a measure of permanence."[86]

Phenix maintained it was possible for education to breathe life back into society; however, as an agent for revitalization the profession must first "heal thyself." Divisions within education were based on the real tensions between academic scholars and professional educators. "The former pride themselves on their learning and despise or neglect pedagogy. The latter are busy pursing the problems of teaching and learning often with little concern for the standards of rigorous scholarship."[87] Phenix contended this point of view presupposes there is no connectedness between the academic disciplines and instruction relating to the disciplines. He sought to end the existing alienation by raising the consciousness of

each to a mutual appreciation of the role of the other.

> Scholars will learn once more to measure their success by their ability to teach, and teachers will again be judged by the depth of their understanding, and academics and educatists will dwell together in peace, if indeed any such distinction will any longer be required![88]

All curriculum content should be drawn from the disciplines, which Phenix described as "knowledge organized for instruction." Unless knowledge is suited for teaching, it does not belong in a discipline. "This means that psychological needs, social problems, and any of the variety of patterns of material . . . are not appropriate to the determination of what is taught."[89] That was not to say that such knowledge (the social sciences) was not of value, simply that it did not belong within the disciplines. Education would be an area of study but not a discipline. However, within Education subjects such as educational curriculum or educational philosophy did merit disciplinary status.

A discipline gathered a large group of cognitive elements into a common framework of ideas in order to simplify understanding. This created techniques, models, and theories unique to each discipline. These characteristics illustrated the commonalties of "apparently disparate elements of experience." Therefore, knowledge does not become more complicated as one goes deeper into a discipline; rather, the "more pervasive are the simplicities which analysis reveals." The test of a good discipline is whether or not it simplifies understanding. "One of the greatest barriers to progress in learning is the failure to catch the vision of simplicity which the disciplines promise."[90]

Besides revealing a conceptual structure, a discipline can reveal significant patterns and relationships. Analyzing these patterns leads to synthesis and disciplines become a synthetic structure of concepts made possible by identifying

similarities. A discipline "is a hierarchy of ideas ordered as a unity-in-difference." Concepts are no longer observed in isolation, but seen in their interconnections. Further, disciplines are alive, dynamic, and hold a "lure to discovery" beyond what is already known.

> Herein lies the great pedagogical virtue of a discipline. Whatever is taught within a discipline framework draws strength and interest from its membership within a family of ideas. Each new idea is illuminated by ideas previously acquired . . . isolated ideas wither and die, while [ideas] comprehended within the unity of a discipline tend to remain vivid and powerful within the understanding.[91]

In structuring curriculum to draw from the disciplines, the content should be representative of the discipline as a whole. According to Phenix this is possible because each discipline holds key ideas that provide clues to the field. These key ideas radically simplify the learner's task. The content is chosen to exemplify methods of inquiry; learning what questions to ask is more important than finding an answer.

Moving a step beyond the knowledge of a single discipline, multi-disciplinary learning using these key ideas might enable students to synthesize the knowledge of a variety of fields. Introducing children to such conceptual models of learning could bring an excitement to learning traditionally limited to higher education. Studies about the development of a child's way of learning by psychologist Jean Piaget focus on assimilation and accommodation. In assimilation new information is modified to fit what is already known. In accommodation we modify what is already known in order to accept new information. The emphasis Phenix places on key ideas might enable the student to organize existing knowledge in a more useful manner. This would not only increase the range of knowledge at a student's disposal but, equally significant, it could provide a mechanism to reduce frustration for the learner and thereby act as an incentive to learning.

Phenix urged educators to recognize the importance of imagination in learning. The selection of materials must reflect that awareness.

> Such imaginative use of materials generates habits of thought that enable the student to respond to rapid changes in knowledge and belief with zest instead of dismay and to experience joy in understanding rather than the dead weight of ideas to be absorbed and stored . . . . One of the qualities of good teaching is the ability to impart a sense of the extraordinary and surprising so that learning becomes a continuous adventure.[92]

Phenix identified esthetics as one of six patterns or realms of meaning which exist in human understanding. Within this realm of esthetics, the zest and joy of learning are experienced directly, immediately. It was in the area of literary form, specifically the genre of children's realistic fiction, that Alma used the notion of key ideas developed by Phenix and utilized by Jacobs as a way of thinking about literary criticism.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

As an educator, Alma chose to give meaning to her scholarship within the framework of esthetics. She combined her academic research with what she knew to be true: the "truth to experience" in her own life, the "truth" of what she observed with children and story in the classroom, and the "truth" of an intellectual construct that acknowledged the value of esthetic experience. These truths, the combination of feeling and thinking, affective and cognitive, demonstrated a value. The arts were a particular way of knowing and as such they belonged in the classroom.

When Alma began to consider a new topic for her dissertation, she recognized that she was influenced by the potential for learning that Dr. Leland Jacobs found in story. Jacobs developed his criteria for thinking about story as a literary "ordering" in his courses in children's literature.

> ALMA: Jacob was helping us be critical, and helping us to become able to say, this book is of literary quality. This is not. This was a bit of knowing the esthetic form--the form of story that is literary in quality. So my dissertation makes the statement of one way of knowing.[93]

Jacobs saw a need for developing a basis of criticism for the literary genre of children's story. According to Alma, he wanted to move a step beyond the book lists recommended by the connoisseurs. Jacobs's approach in discussing story was to use six criteria: unity, simplicity, maturity, authenticity, integrity and beauty. In one advanced class, Alma and her fellow students worked independently to develop a theoretical basis for criticism of children's books. Alma decided this would be an interesting topic for her dissertation, and with Dr. Jacobs's approval and encouragement, she began. She developed a theoretical schema by which to characterize realistic story for the beginning reader and to evaluate story esthetically.

Esthetics as defined in *The Reader's Guide to Literary Terms* is the scientific study of the beautiful. The study has two foci, philosophical and psychological. The former is an attempt through deductive reasoning to establish the nature of art and beauty and their relationship to truth and goodness. The latter emphasized the study of the process of creation in the artist and the appreciation in the beholder.[94] Alma was influenced by both but not confined in her study to either category.

An early and continuing appreciation of music in all forms, vocal and instrumental, may have predisposed Alma's appreciation for literary expression. In certain respects the intrinsic structure of literature is similar to that of music. In both cases, sound is an integral part of the esthetic effect. "While the sound of music is nearly always physically audible, the sound of literature may be either audible, or more commonly, heard only with the 'mind's ear.'"[95]

These early beginnings developed into a repertoire of songs, musical skills,

and sight reading. Later, Alma developed these skills into classes in the arts that she presented in elementary and secondary school. All of this culminated in her dissertation, which offered a theoretical construct for discerning an esthetic expression in literary form. She sought to assess ways of recognizing the potentialities for esthetic form in works of fiction, specifically for the beginning reader.

What Alma perceived as a need did not have a high priority in general curriculum design. Schools and libraries usually relied on experts to determine the literary value of a book. Once book lists were compiled, curriculum specialists made value judgments about what books met children's needs, interests, and curriculum requirements. However, researchers had discovered that adult choices did not correspond with what children actually wanted. In view of the fact that obvious literary distinctions were not made by those choosing children's books, Leland Jacobs suggested that teachers could become judges and critics of literature for children. Alma's dissertation sought to provide a basis for Professor Jacobs's hypothesis. The introduction stated:

> Purpose of the study is to develop a basis upon which realistic stories for beginning readers can be initially criticized as fictive form. More particularly, the purpose is to develop this basis in terms of perceiving a child's realistic story as to its potentiality for engaging a reader with esthetic form. Specifically this means finding a basis for characterizing and assessing this potentiality among the stories made available to the classroom.[96]

The questions Alma asked for the study had to do with the power of a work to engage the attention of the "esthetically inexperienced but potentially responsive reader." Does the work, as a literary form, merit the time and the energy expended by an inexperienced first reader? Second, on what basis is this decision made? Alma proposed there may be no definite answer to the questions; however, an

inquiry into a possible basis for making judgments could serve as a cornerstone for future study.

The distinction between realistic and fanciful fiction for children was a part of the tradition of literature for children. Realistic fiction for young children was a contemporary development, and Alma agreed with Jacobs that it was a unique genre in its own right. Ideally, it did not impose an adult world on the young reader. It reflected where the child lived in the world of her/his thought, imagination, and developing sensibilities.

Alma believed that attention needed to be focused on the discipline of reading literature in order to arrive at developed taste. In the early elementary grades children are encouraged to read widely. Teachers in the classroom are encouraged to do the same. The expectation seemed to be that this exercise of indiscriminate reading develops taste. However, there was little evidence to substantiate this expectation. In order to read a story critically it is necessary to think about story content and arrangement.

Not surprisingly, Alma's approach was to find common areas of agreement among authorities who differed widely in their ways of thinking about matters of literary criticism. "As the eyes of one can serve for the eyes of many, so the insights of one can become the insights of many."[97] She used key terms developed by Leland B. Jacobs "for ferreting out components of literary and esthetic criticism . . . ."[98]Alma discovered that using key ideas for the study of a realistic story is valuable for both teacher and student.[99]

Throughout her study Alma relied on *Theory of Literature* by Welleck and Warren. The authors state that realistic fictive form has a recognizable relation to life. Welleck and Warren warn against making itemized comparisons and warned

against making utilitarian value judgments on the esthetics. An esthetic experience is direct and immediate; it is always to be experienced for its own sake. Alma explained: "To see a work primarily for using, for preaching, for teaching, persuading, possessing or owning is to bypass or make void what is central to its own nature."[100]

Alma verified that it was possible to read a story critically by using Jacobs's approach in observing the relationship between the story's import and its esthetic impact. Her study confirms Jacobs's theory that at its best, story can "query life." Story is not a window on life, nor is it to imitate life. "A children's story of high quality is a metaphor to illumine life and to engage a reader with esthetic form . . . .The author of a realistic story of high quality does not provide a retreat into the irresponsibility of dependent childhood. Instead he finds what is possible."[101] Alma wrote:

> The context of "reality" in its relation to art is found to open the way to seeing art and literature as a "way of knowing," as Phenix and Jacobs suggest. "Reality" thus may be seen to become shaped and formed by man in humanistic as well as in scientific ways . . . . Thus the telling of a story becomes a storyteller's way of revealing reality in relation to meaning as he perceives and values what he has experienced. This means that the making of meaning is within everyone's province.[102]

The primary purpose of the study was not the demonstration of a basis for criticism but the creation and testing of a basis for criticism. "At the conclusion I was able to say, finally, that these were germinal ideas. That they were applicable in a range wider than what I had been able to discover."[103]

For Alma the interest in bringing structure and form to test a basis of literary criticism may have had its roots in Great Deer. She knew the joy experienced in childhood from the music and stories learned at her mother's knee. Alma came to find real value in these pleasures as revelatory of her humanity. In adulthood, she

became aware of a tendency in education to assign utilitarian ends to learning. In her view, this sadly limited education's potential. Within the profession she witnessed a declining appreciation for the esthetic experience as a part of classroom learning. Especially after Sputnik, national priorities dictated a strong scientific curriculum. The arts, as a celebration of creativity and imagination, were assumed to be within the realm of a select few.

In presenting her dissertation Alma used language arts, the most basic component of curriculum, to demonstrate that children's potential for artistic appreciation and expression can be found in their response to story. Stories have meanings and, therefore, can represent a way of knowing. According to Phenix,

> Meanings are of many kinds and the full development of human beings requires education in a variety of realms of meaning rather than in a single type of rationality.[104]

THE CRISIS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY--1968

When Alma returned to New York City in 1965, the national social lethargy that had been so pervasive in 1955 was no longer the prevailing mode. Two social movements, the civil rights movement and the peace movement, galvanized the energies of the young and, by their example, the old. The dedication of student leadership gained legitimacy from its constituents and distrust from the establishment. Although the majority of college students were not actively involved in either movement, at least 750,000 students (out of 6.5 million students nationwide) demonstrated an interest in social change and political action. Dissatisfaction with college curriculum, although a constant source of irritation for students, was more vague and unstructured than the other two movements. In April and May 1968, all three concerns created a "Crisis at Columbia."

Anti-war activity at Columbia began in May of 1965, protesting the presence of Navy ROTC on campus. In the years that followed demonstrators objected to CIA and Dow Chemical Company recruitment on campus. The university's connection with the Institute of Defense Analyses became a symbol of the school's participation in the Vietnam war.

The Vietnam War (1957-1972) had its origins in the Eisenhower administration, as a legacy of the Cold War. With the rise of Communism in China, American foreign policy adopted the "domino" theory. The theory hypothesized that if Vietnam fell to communism the entire region of southeast Asia would collapse. When French forces left the country in defeat, the United States increased aid to reactionary forces. The military conflict escalated in 1964 when President Johnson decided to commit additional troops in an attempt to bring the war to a swift conclusion. As combat intensified, casualties mounted. By 1968, mass demonstrations against the war included not only those of draft age but parents, church leaders, and even members of Congress.

The students protesting the war effort on campus at Columbia University were not unique. In fact, the student movement that took to the streets in the 1960s had its origins in the 1950s. Student dissatisfaction with universities and disillusionment with corporate America was personified in the "anti-establishment" cult figures of the mid-1950's, Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, and J.D. Salinger. As forerunners to the hippie movement, these anti-heroes rejected the hypocrisy found in society and in government institutions. The conformity and political apathy of the 1950s observed by Riesman and others was the object of ridicule and disgust for some of the younger generation.

In 1964, not far from Alma's old haunts in Oakland, students at University of

California, Berkeley, made national headlines shortly after school began in September. The Free Speech Movement at UC Berkeley defied a university edict that restricted student political activities. Student activists energized by civil rights projects in the South sought to focus attention on the lack of respect afforded students by the UC Board of Regents. University President Clark Kerr, who had written knowledgeably about unhappy conditions in universities nationwide, ironically was faced with the consequences of the alienation that he described. Events at Berkeley demonstrated to dissatisfied students nationwide that if they organized, their voices would be heard.

Alma witnessed a major student rebellion at Columbia University in April 1968. Teachers College, as a part of the larger university, is located across the street from the main campus area. On April 23, two student groups, the Students for a Democratic Society and Students Afro-American Society, took possession of five university buildings. Six days later more than 1,000 policemen ousted the students, and a special Commission was appointed to study the situation.

It was unclear to Alma when the melee began what was at issue. "The first thing that came to me was my surprise when I heard the anger. There was as much sound eight stories up from the street, as there was visual movement. The voices were so angry and the violence was in the air."[105] Later on the way to the subway she saw theologian, Martin Buber, talking "gently and quietly" with students. The focus of student complaints was threefold: 1) anger at university compliance with the military-industrial complex in support of the Vietnam War; 2) frustration over the powerlessness of students to determine the educational curriculum; 3) the lack of sensitivity on the part of Columbia University to black students and black neighbors in Harlem.

The Cox Commission appointed to investigate the disturbances at Columbia published its report in October, 1968. The Commission found that "rather than a spirit of self-determination, the administration of Columbia too often conveyed an attitude of authoritarianism and invited distrust." The quality of student life was "inferior in living conditions and personal association." Ground-breaking for a new school gymnasium contributed to the April uproar. "Once the gymnasium project became a symbol of race and community relations, it was vulnerable because the University's relations with its poorer neighbors had badly deteriorated." The Commission criticized the "excessive use of force" by the 1,000 policemen who participated in the raid to remove students.[106]

Alma empathized with the students' complaints about the quality of education.

> ALMA: I didn't feel in general, university professors were that much interested in teaching . . . professors were busy in writing and research . . . . When a faculty member published his work, the criteria of criticism had to do with rigor. Is it rigorous? Is it basic? Is it strong? I didn't hear much about how amenable is it for the student's ability to grasp the lead-in to the materials or any of that.[107]

The discontent expressed at Columbia was a reflection of problems that concerned educators identified as endemic in the American university system. Author and academician, Dr. Harold Taylor, in his book *Students Without Teachers,* wrote a brief account of the origins of the connection between government and universities, an issue that lay at the heart of student demonstrations during the 1960s. In addition, Taylor examined the acceptance of general education courses in the university curriculum.

Taylor reported that the military became involved with universities as a "manpower reserve pool for military personnel" during World War II. The pattern of general education was the result of a five-semester set of courses established by

the military during the war. Completion of the classes served as a screening device to identify those able to handle training programs in the officers training school. "The military-industrial-educational-social complex had thus been established and the forerunner of the general education movement was set in motion."[108]

When the war ended, undergraduate colleges, established to provide a liberal education for a relatively few students, found themselves in a "mass democracy requiring mass education."[109] In 1945, a faculty committee at Harvard on the Objectives of General Education in a Free Society, along with Columbia University and the University of Chicago, "set the pattern of discussion and reform for the American undergraduates" that created a closed curriculum. By creating a national standard for undergraduate curriculum, the committee presumed to decide for students that they would spend two years in "nonvocational, nonprofessional, nonspecialist education."[110] According to Taylor,

> It was all a matter of the subject matter of the courses, not the total experience of the student; it was the organization and distribution of specific sets of requirements in general areas of knowledge, not the liberation of the student's mind and imagination by experience in the creative arts, in society, or by critical analysis of contemporary culture . . . .
>
> The theory was flawed at the start by opposing general to special, as if the liberalizing effects of work in depth in a chosen field of knowledge were not operative, while breadth in the range of coverage of subjects automatically conferred a liberal outcome.[111]

The concern of Philip Phenix and others about the relevance of curriculum in the student's learning experience was more than an esoteric exercise. Students entered the university with the expectation that higher education had greater relevance than the survey courses of secondary education. However, within two or three years in the university, many students experienced feelings of frustration and impotence. Unguided efforts by students to make connections among disparate pieces of information reduced the "search for meaning" into one more dehumanizing

experience. Phenix contended:

> As a humanizer of knowledge, the educator is called upon to gain and communicate effective understanding of the characteristic ideas and modes of thinking in the various disciplines and to invent imaginative ways of mediating these fundamental patterns of meaning to his students.[112]

Bellack assumed:

> The goal of education is to make available to students the intellectual and esthetic resources of their culture in such a way that they become guides for intelligent action and help students create meaning and order out of the complex world in which they find themselves.[113]

Jacobs shared this concern:

> As the teacher guides, directs, questions, assesses, proposes, and does all those diverse teaching tasks that actualize the curriculum, he has the immediate and splendid opportunity to give children stature, worthiness in their own eyes and the eyes of others and faith in their own development while they are learning what they expect the school to teach them.[114]

Alma concluded:

> ALMA: When we test to find weaknesses and then drill, drill, drill on those weaknesses, that is a false hope. As long we concentrate on weaknesses, we are going to exaggerate them and have no time for that innate power that rests within peoples, groups, classrooms, communities.[115]

These voices, and others, spoke clearly to Alma during her years at Teachers College. There was a collaborative spirit among them that seemed to welcome her into their midst. These professors expressed the concern, the encouragement, the inspiration, and the intelligence that in Alma's opinion epitomized her pride in the profession and in the American system of public education. The human element that enabled a teacher to identify with a student of any age inevitably created a feeling of hospitality in the classroom or the lecture hall. Empathy with the student's need to learn and the instructor's respect for that need were the virtues which Alma sought to practice each time she entered a classroom. To hear this reinforced at Teachers College, the largest, most prestigious teaching school in the

nation, perhaps in the world, was music to her ears. Alma listened and has not forgotten.

THE DEATH OF ALMA'S FATHER

David Gloeckler died at home quietly and unexpectedly in 1967. The last few years of David's life were limited by a heart condition and an allergy that he acquired farming in the valley years earlier. Sue Peters was living with Maggie and Dave at the time. The threesome had finished lunch and were discussing the dinner menu when Dave slumped in his chair and died. He was 85 years old.

Maggie wrote to a cousin on the day David died and told about a Bible verse that had come to David's mind some weeks earlier. The verse from Isaiah acted as a "great comfort" and enabled him to become "very relaxed." David died as he had lived, never doubting the constancy of God's love.

> ISAIAH 54.10: Though the mountains leave their place and the hills be shaken, my love shall never leave you nor my covenant of peace be shaken, says the Lord, who has mercy on you.

Alma flew home and the family gathered around; everyone attended ceremonies. David was buried with his parents and other family members at the Mennonite Brethren cemetery in Shafter. The funeral services were conducted in San Jose by Reverend Loyal A. Funk. If David was listening, he undoubtedly enjoyed the ceremonies. Along with other kind words, Reverend Funk 's eulogy described him as "ever the student." The following day the family traveled to Shafter for the burial. Graveside ceremonies in Shafter were conducted by Reverend J.A. Toews, the revered Mennonite historian who contributed much to the opening chapter of this present work.

A few weeks later Maggie and her daughters sat around the table at Maruth's

San Jose home and discussed pertinent financial matters. The purpose of the meeting was to clarify for all, particularly Maggie, the state of her financial affairs. In years past, Maggie and David had helped their children financially whenever they perceived the need. At the time of David's death, Maggie sought to complete some arrangements agreed upon earlier. David's will left all assets to his wife, enabling her to do as she chose with their estate. The estate was small, not enough to warrant probate proceedings.

A decision made a few years earlier established that Alma would hold the house on Pamlar in joint tenancy with her parents. The house would become Alma's property when both parents died. Although the home was given with "no strings attached," it was understood that Alma would assume the role of caregiver for Maggie and David if such care was necessary. Maggie and David also owned a second property, a vacation property, located in the religious community of Mount Hermon, not far from San Jose. This property was held in joint tenancy by Daisy and her parents. Daisy, the mother of three daughters, was widowed in 1958; she remarried two years later.

Alma had suggested the meeting with Mother before returning to New York. "Let's get together before I go back. Let's make sure that Mother's estate is in the condition that Dad and Mother determined it before Dad died."[116] Alma wanted to be sure that her mother knew exactly what her options were so that she could make necessary decisions with a free mind. All of Maggie's daughters attended, excepting Teena, who had returned to the east coast. Maggie opened the meeting with a prayer and thanked everyone for coming. At different times in the past Frances and Maruth had helped David manage his books, so they were able to comment knowledgeably on financial affairs. Melba was also a businesswoman and later

became Maggie's bookkeeper between 1970 and 1975. Myrtle, second executrix of the estate, Alma and Daisy listened carefully and questioned anything that was unclear.

The meeting went very well. Alma was very pleased with the feeling of accomplishment everyone expressed. "I think of all the things I am most proud of, that is one of the high points in my life."[117] Alma's memories include Daisy, who brought a cake to celebrate Melba's birthday. Frances who told Maruth, the little sister whom she stayed home to care for in 1924, "Maruth, I'm so glad you were born!" It pleased Alma that her father "had everything in Mother's name." Here was a final example of their lifetime partnership. Also, it appeared to be a vote of confidence in the women of the family--confidence in Maggie's ability to make judgments and his daughters' readiness to support her. David's spirit undoubtedly joined in the goodwill found around the table.

The previous April David and Maggie celebrated their sixty-second wedding anniversary. During most of those years, they were blessed with good health which contributed to their recreational pursuits. When the family lived in Shafter, vacations were usually spent enjoying the marvelous California state park system. During the 1940s, the parents purchased a cabin at Mount Hermon, a Christian retreat center, located between San Jose and Santa Cruz.

Putting the cabin in tip-top condition became a hobby for Dave and Maggie during the 1950s. Many hours of work and fun were invested to improve the property. The cabin supplied the growing family with a place for recreation, family get-togethers, and special occasions. Alma remembers uncles and cousins visiting from Canada, all of whom helped work on the Gloeckler hideaway. "So, in the end we had a three story building fully equipped with all that was necessary for

comfortable living: the bedding, kitchen utensils, and furniture."[118]

When David's health began to fail, he wanted to give the cabin to a family member. It was decided that because Daisy lived nearby and had the means to maintain the cabin, she would hold the property in joint tenancy with her parents. It pleased David and Maggie to think of their children and grandchildren enjoying this cabin as a legacy of their thrift and hard work.

While Alma was still in San Jose, Maggie told her that she wanted to remove her name from the deed and give Daisy sole ownership. Maggie thought it unlikely that she would ever use the place again by herself. She knew that Daisy's three young daughters enjoyed the cabin. The girls were usually part of the cleanup committee when the family get-togethers occurred. Alma encouraged her mother to follow through on the idea and, before Alma returned to New York, this was completed.

A CULMINATION 1968-1969

After David's death Alma worked diligently to complete her dissertation. She knew that Aunt Sue and Maggie would have the assistance of her sisters in the Bay Area; however, Alma knew also that she would be returning to California when the thesis was finished.

Alma had returned to Teachers College in 1965 in an effort to enrich her contribution "to the current unrest that I sense and try to understand." Returning to try again may have appeared self-indulgent and improvident; however, it was a courageous decision for Alma. She attempted to "recognize the unanswered questions without trying to settle for a simple little answer. . . . And if I can live with the idea of going on living and not finding finished answers, then I'll be able to stand

myself doing this."[119] In hindsight, Alma realized she was simply continuing a pattern begun in 1930 when she left Maple School.

In response to a question about whether or not the formalism imposed by academia limited the expression of her personal creativity, Alma replied:

> No! It was avenue after avenue. It opened and opened and opened. And it was sort of an infinity. But what I wanted was sort of culmination. Then, I realized that one has to keep culminating all of the time.[120]

Teachers College at Columbia University conferred the degree of Doctor of Education on Alma in October, 1969. By the time Alma received formal notification of the award from Dr. Leland Jacobs, she was back in San Jose at home with Maggie and Aunt Sue. Jacobs sent congratulations "from one who really knows all you did to see this accomplishment of yours through so very well."

CHAPTER SIX

SAN JOSE, 1969-1992

When Alma returned to live with her mother in San Jose, she immediately sought employment. Teachers College Placement Office told Alma before she left New York that they could not assure her placement in San Jose. She interviewed at San Jose State, Hayward State, and San Francisco State as well as the community colleges in the area. "I heard things like overqualified, too much of a generalist. The trend today is specialist."[1]

Unable to find work on the university level, Alma considered teaching in a junior high school. Alma was interested because this was the only level she had not taught during her career. However, when she interviewed for the job the principal expressed doubt that she could handle the class. Alma knew after a few interviews that she would be unable to find work in the public school system. The retirement costs limited her possibilities of finding work at age sixty-four.

She finally located a position as first-grade teacher in a small Catholic school in West San Jose near Mitty Catholic High School. When the pastor, Father Geary, asked Alma why she wanted to teach in a Catholic school, she told him frankly that she "couldn't get a job any place else." However, the pastor was impressed with Alma and her credentials and hired her on the spot. As soon as her friends learned of her new position, they expressed concern. As friends do, they reminded her of how "theoretical and abstract" she was. "You've forgotten what kids are like . . . . You're not that young any more." Of course, Catholic schools have "huge" classes; how would she manage?[2]

> ALMA: I'll have to manage differently that I had before . . . . They'll really have to take on all the work of learning that they can possibly take on. . . .It worked a lot better than even I thought. Children had not changed. It was new to me because [they] were very family oriented. The children were in secure homes. Both parents

> came to school. The fathers were as much interested in the children [as the mothers.] So that part was just too good to be true. What I missed was, it was not at all an integrated school of many children.[3]

Alma found the children "very quick and easy to teach." For the most part the students were strong and healthy, eager to learn. There were a few students in need of psychological counseling. When Alma discussed this with Father Geary, he said, "Well, we don't have those kind of children" in our school. Alma, undaunted, spoke to the principal and the children received attention "through the mental health people" at the local hospital.[4]

Alma described the classroom as "highly formalized," desks in straight rows, with mostly "pen and paper" kind of materials; "equipment was sparse." Alma greeted forty-three students each morning! Once a week the children attended Mass with the other grades. Both children and teacher enjoyed "the beautiful little songs" during the services. "I realized here was an art experience, too, at the same time. That was special and it was very motivating."[5]

> ALMA: And the friendliness . . . everybody was looking at us because we were the new ones. All the people wanted to see who those new little first graders were, the first time in our school. So, it was nice to feel so very special . . . . I encouraged them to remember that the priest would like to see their faces and not the back of their heads. Then that created some amusement on the part of the parents. So, it was very friendly and very welcoming.[6]

Alma remained at Queen of Apostles school for five years. The first four years she taught first grade. Her fifth year, Alma served as "resource person." The community was homogeneous--"very different from the public schools where I taught." The classes were as large as her friends had warned they would be; however, for the most part, the children were well behaved. They were "so ready to help each other to learn. And I could depend upon adults who would come in."[7] Parents, both mothers and fathers, drove on field trips to the library, to the zoo, and to different parks. The children came from homes of educated parents and, without

any exception that Alma can recall, the parents were interested and involved in their children's education.

Now that Alma was back in the primary grades, she had the opportunity to test the hypothesis developed by Leland Jacobs. Here was the "classroom as laboratory" in which to observe children's critical abilities as they related to story.

> ALMA: My main focus, however, being East was on literature, was on criticism of children's literature . . . . The immediate experience of the story comes alive if the story is well done . . . . If one [student] couldn't read it, they would read it to each other, or I would read to them. And it was such a natural way to drink in, and bring in, the uses of language in the way of literary form.[8]

Alma had great confidence in the child's ability to learn to read. She was not so confident of teaching methods. When the ideal teaching method is discovered, Alma believes, children will learn to read as naturally as they learn to speak. In the meantime, "why do we think we have to push? . . . I have never met a lazy child in all my life. I don't know what that means. I have seen children buck and battle me for some reason or another but it wasn't [laziness]."[9]

> ALMA: When some of the Queen of Apostles parents gave me credit for some of the things that happened in that first grade, I could say with great confidence that "the children come that way." The secret that many of us don't know is how much we can know by really listening and really being open. Because kids don't expect adults to be open but if you're open, immediately there they are. [10]

In discerning the usefulness of the six characteristics (unity, maturity, authencity, integrity, simplicity, and beauty) that she used in her doctoral dissertation, Alma learned, "Yes, here theory and practice became almost one . . . . I looked continually for the kind of books that had this literary, esthetic quality." She watched children "almost fall into that story world and get lost in it."[11] Aware of their ability to become immersed in story, Alma tried to go a step beyond merely listening to the criticism of "I like" or "I don't like." She encouraged the children to explore the literary qualities that made some stories more acceptable than others.

In an effort to expose the children to a variety of literature, Alma directed Book Fairs at the school and encouraged the children to begin building personal libraries.

One day Alma told the children a story about a small horse named Queenie that belonged to the Gloeckler children in Great Deer. She told how the horse took the children back and forth to school, and how the horse often misbehaved and did as it pleased in spite the children's efforts to control her. Two years later when the same students were in third grade, the children retold the story, enriching it with their own details. Then they asked Alma if the second story was true.

> ALMA: They had ordered their own experience with hearing about me and Queenie. . . . Now, they had caught that so well that they were able to bring Queenie to life in the way they were using their imagination. I wanted them to realize that this was not only true, but it was true to their experiences. And that is what the story writer does. They did succeed in bringing me into their story world as an artist . . . . It was vivid in my mind. I wanted them to have this direct enjoyment of the fact that they were able to do this thing. They were makers and creators of an art form.[12]

That day in particular Alma felt Leland Jacobs's presence in the classroom. Here was a literary story, "an esthetic ordering of selected components of experience." The children shared an experience with Alma and recreated the experience in their own way. "And that's what an artist can do. He makes a fresh new thing that has never been made before. All of these were very happy moments."[13]

Alma's life outside of school during these years was focused on caring for her mother. When Alma returned to California in 1969, Maggie and Sue were living together. But in 1970, Sue went to the Baptist Home in Oregon where her father spent his last years. Father and daughter had supported the home since it opened. Sue had planned to live there as her father had. Alma went along to assist in the details of admittance and visited with some members of the Peters family in the Portland area.

Maggie's health failed gradually. In the beginning she was well enough to accompany Alma to school with the assistance of a caregiver. During one visit Maggie told the children that when Alma was a child on the prairie, she often chased gophers and couldn't understand how they could suddenly disappear underground. The children loved the story and Maggie wrote it down for them.

In 1971, Maggie fell and broke her hip. Surgery repaired the hip with a pin, and she appeared to be recovering slowly. In 1973, Maggie experienced kidney failure. She was rushed to the hospital and everyone expected the worst, including Maggie. However, after a brief stay in the hospital and a few weeks in a convalescent home, she returned to her home on Pamlar Avenue. After that a dear friend, Blanche, would come in the morning when Alma left for work and remain with Maggie during the day. Without Blanche's help, Alma would have been unable to care for her mother at home. As it was, "things were tough."

The nights were especially difficult. Maggie needed help in the bathroom; as a result, Alma seldom got a good night's rest. In time this took its toll and Alma became extremely fatigued. A thyroid condition which had not bothered her in years reappeared, evidently triggered by the stress. Alma was hospitalized for ten days while the thyroid was stabilized.[14]

Alma's sisters were understandably concerned about Maggie and Alma. They came to help with housework; each contributed what they could to their mother's care. Daisy, Maruth and Frances took Maggie into their homes to provide respite for Alma and Melba. As the single women in the family, Alma and Melba provided the long-term care Maggie required. Daisy often visisted Maggie during the day while Alma was at work. Melba came down from her home in San Francisco two weekends a month during the last five years of Maggie's life doing

whatever was needed. This assistance enabled Alma and Maggie to make it week in and week out for the last years of Maggie's life. Alma spoke of the consequences of this intense effort. "Those of us who haven't learned it, better know that care giving can lead to burnout."[15]

One afternoon Frances and her husband, Abe, came visiting at tea time and Maggie was the hostess. This was a very special memory for Alma and Maggie. Tragically, Frances died as a result of an automobile accident in the fall of 1973--the first of Maggie's children to die in adulthood. The visitor who came and stayed for hours, reminiscent of Sunday visiting in Great Deer, was Edna Gloeckler Halloren, daughter of David's brother, Charlie. Cousin Edna, whom Aunt Maggie and Uncle David had helped during those long ago Depression years, told her cousin Alma that she "never forgot the kindness."

In the fall of 1974, much to Alma's great regret, it was necessary to place Maggie in a convalescent home. Alma chose one not far from Queen of Apostles school so that she could visit frequently. During a visit on Holy Saturday, mother and daughter prayed together for the last time. Maggie (aged 90) died in the early hours of Easter morning, April 1, 1975. Graveside ceremonies were conducted by Reverend Harder, son of the Saskatchewan minister at the time Alma and Myrtle were baptized in 1919. Maggie had written her own obituary several times, most recently in September, 1969. She requested that the Bible verses be read in both English and German "without much comment. Let the Word of God speak."

> I desire my funeral text to be: 1 Samuel, Chapter 16, v.7: But the Lord sayeth unto Samuel: Look not on his countenance nor on the height of his stature; because I have refused him: For the Lord seeth not as man seeth; For a man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh at the heart.[16]

Maggie outlived David by eight years. It was a point of pride for Alma that

she and her mother "made it." Maggie's modest estate, supplemented by Alma's salary, was budgeted to meet living expenses. They lived frugally, as was their habit. When Alma spoke of her parents during the conversations that became the basis of this story, she said "I still miss Mother. I miss Dad. I talk to them. I tell them things. I say, 'Oh, I'm glad you're not around to see this . . . . And I wonder what you'd say about this.'"[17]

Alma returned to work and was consoled by the community at Queen of Apostles school. The pastor, Father Elwood Geary, said a special Mass for Alma and Maggie and the school children composed letters to comfort. her. Just one month earlier Alma had celebrated her sixty-ninth birthday with her class. Mimi, one of the first-graders, learned that it was Alma's birthday and wanted to celebrate by giving her teacher a present. When Alma discouraged gift-giving, Mimi had her own idea of a party. She brought a brown bag from home with four pieces of fruit. Under Mimi's direction Alma cut the fruit into tiny pieces so that there was enough for everyone. Before the children devoured the morsel in front of them, Alma asked Mimi if she would like to say grace. Mimi said grace and that reminded one of the other children, Timmy, about the Bible story of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. A parent overheard what was going on and delightedly told Mimi's mother that her daughter was conducting Mass!

> ALMA: Those are not the kind of experiences I would have had in a public school. It would have been unfair for me to do that with children whose parents have a faith other than ours, or who chose not to teach their children religion. We have religious liberties and this, I think, is a sacred right . . . it is not for us to impose ours on others.[18]

During the last year of employment at the school Alma's title was "Resource Person." In practice this was not so very different from her well-loved position as Elementary Assistant years earlier in Oakland. One of Alma's activities during the

year was to assist children in all of the eight grades with book making. Besides the story telling, she demonstrated how to collate the pages and create the binding. Every child who was interested became both author and publisher. Alma, as the catalyst for this literary effort, was very satisfied with the results.

The year had been a difficult one for Alma but she had not considered retiring. However, once she learned her contract was not to be renewed and she began to think about it, retirement was not a bad idea." And, of course, by then, 1975, I was 69. I was past retirement age and it was a good time to stop anyway."[19] After five years at Queen of Apostles school Alma had many, many friends. She was greatly loved and admired. Those years of large classes gave her a wide acquaintanceship with many families in the church community. Alma had arrived in San Jose knowing only her mother and sisters. Now, she had a circle of caring friends who became a source of support during her transition into retirement.

In August, while Alma was in the process of removing her "stuff" from her office at the school, she received word that her sister Daisy had died. Daisy's death was a great shock. Alma knew her sister had not been well for a while but the illness was not considered life threatening. Death was attributed to mixing of medications. In addition to the shock of Daisy's premature death, Alma was very distressed when she learned a short time later that all of her sister's assets, those of her first husband and those of Daisy's parents, were not bequeathed to Daisy's three daughters. Daisy's entire estate was left to her second husband with any provision for her children to be at the discretion of their stepfather. Whether the girls would ever receive their father's or their grandparents' inheritance was not known.

Because Alma was convinced of her parents' intention for their grandchildren to own the Gloeckler cabin, and because she knew of Daisy's intent-

ion for her children rightfully to receive their father's and grandparents' legacy, Alma interceded on behalf of her nieces. The result was to create divisive feelings within the family that had previously enjoyed unity. "So that, somehow we didn't even hear each other. We didn't understand each other. Each heard the other in different ways from what we had intended . . . . But there is such a strong divisiveness over this and that's the saddest part of all."[20]

Alma was saddened and depressed with the realization that she was powerless to effect change. Daisy was the little sister described in one of Alma's poems as "a pretty little girl." The two sisters had entered the Shafter classroom together in 1928, Daisy as pupil and Alma as teacher. After Daisy married and settled in San Jose, Maggie and David moved to the area. The proud grandparents spoke often with Alma about the children's antics. Now with Maggie and David gone, with Daisy gone, as the oldest in the family, Alma tried to support her nieces in what they chose to do. The attempt proved futile.

Seventeen years after Daisy's death, the cultural issue of women's right to own property and to speak their minds over issues including money is still troubling for Alma. She is unable to understand what happened to Daisy's voice. Alma's parents encouraged their daughters to become educated "because it's an opportunity for maturing, growing up and becoming self-reliant, self-determining human beings, and certainly never losing our voice in decisions of matters that affect us personally."[21] Where the culture absolutely defines gender roles, where men control wealth (read power), women are traditionally disadvantaged.

RETIREMENT, 1975

Alma's transition into retirement was not easy. She missed her parents and her beloved sisters, Frances and Daisy. She was perplexed at the family's reaction

to the questions she raised about her sister's estate, which she interpreted as their unwillingness to confront an unpleasant reality. Besides family difficulties, Alma, at age seventy, missed the day-to-day routine of the employed. Alma missed her profession, her teaching. Her grieving was very sad and lonely work.

> How do we relate in reality to death?
> Again we stand before the stark agony of a life so vibrant, anticipating, so young and future oriented-- so ready to move--act-- be.
> Yes, we stand before that stark reality of death right in our midst.
>
> We stand before this death in our midst,
> where already there is the pain of lingering illness,
> vigilant, seeking ways to relate in person--one to another--
> in facing the seeming indeterminacy of this lingering life.
>
> And now, the buoyancy of a youth--
> stilled, stilled-- in death.

As Alma had composed poetry in Oakland during a stressful time, now in San Jose she once again began writing poems and prayers. Daisy's unexpected death and the trauma that accompanied it, combined with the most serious divisiveness that Alma ever remembered in her family, caused her to confront anew the problem of pain and to turn to God with a cry from the Psalms, "De Profundis."

> Dear Father of us all-- I stand before that which seems again just too much to grasp or to deal with. Fill Thou those terrible voids of non-existence in Thy own way. Help us to help one another somehow in the starkness of this hour.
> Help us to help one another live out the necessary task of mourning. Help us to meet and face and live out that pain that becomes the overwhelming irreversible reality.
> Help us not to turn to nostrums, easy comfortable ways of avoidance or denial. May this become again for us all a time to recognize such feelings as arise be they "yes's" or be they "no--no's."
> Help us at last to take those feelings, realizations and thoughts into a bundle, as the finished work of mourning, which can leave with us all some new knowledge of ourselves others and of Thee.
> May from this bundle finally buried, there arise new life here, now and for all eternity.

Alma's prayers reveal her faith in Christ's promise, "Ask and you shall receive." The changes in her life were made bearable by an unfaltering belief in the Christian hope of resurrection. Life overcomes death; death serves only to create

new life. The conundrum of suffering as part of a loving God's creation is not confronted here. Simply, "All things work together for God's glory." Ten years after her mystical experience on Amsterdam Avenue in New York City, she once again experienced in the very depths of her being a reaffirmation of lessons learned early.

> Thank you, God of our Fathers, for your sustaining and renewing powers within our minds, bodies, spirits and among us as we seek to relate ourselves responsibly one to one another.
> I seek, now in this new time of non-regular employment a focus for such things as I may be ready for and in a position to do.
> At the cross of Thy Son Jesus, our Brother, I lay down my burdens. At this cross of Thy dying Son I seek to leave my burden, as He invited us to do in his life time.
> At this cross I wait knowing that from this burial, new life and light can spring. Ready me again to receive renewing power, and Thy light upon my way.
>
> * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
>
> If, as human beings, we are able to use one another in some ways taking away one another's freedom of thought--feeling, or of defining ourselves as to who we are and where we are going.
> Then, oh dear Father of us all, may any of that using become the stuff with which you can use us fully--for renewal transformation that we may know joyously who we really are--Thy children, drawn to Thee--and constituted in Thee.

Many of the prayers Alma wrote at this time consisted of a daily re-dedication of her life to God's will. Aware of the relative uncertainty of life and the absolute certainty of death, Alma asked for love, not wisdom, to live the years "given me still" in harmony with all of God's creation.

> Into Thy Hands I commit this moment, this hour, this week, this month, this year and this, my life-time, given me still. May Thy Love infill each choice. Thy Light enlighten each awareness. And Thy Spirit each sense of one another. Thy children, all.

While Maggie was still alive and able, Alma accompanied her to the Mennonite Brethren Church; however, once Alma was alone she sought to find a church of her own. Every Sunday morning she attended services in different neighborhood churches. After about six months, Alma decided she would attend the Campbell United Methodist Church regularly. The pastor at the church reminded her very much of her pastor at the Riverside Church in New York.

Another appealing similarity was the role United Methodist played as an active force in the community. Before long, Alma joined with others in volunteer work at the San Jose Food Bank.

An organized effort to collect and distribute surplus food in California began as the result of a similar effort in Arizona in the mid-1970s. The Santa Clara County Food Bank opened in 1974 as a means of coordinating the work of various groups in the area struggling to supply food to the hungry. Motivation to create greater efficiency in responding to the need came from public knowledge that twenty percent of the food in the country was wasted. After five years in operation a separate non-profit group, Second Harvest, was formed under the Food Bank umbrella. Second Harvest went directly to national corporations, such as Kraft, Beatrice Foods and Quaker Oats, to expedite receipt of donated goods. The donor corporations require food banks to meet established standards: l) donated food can not be resold; 2) the food must reach only the low-income poor.

The Food Bank of Santa Clara County is the second oldest and presently one of the five largest food banks in the country. The program initially processed 8,000 pounds of food a month. In 1992 the figure is an incredible 8,000 pounds of food per hour. The Food Bank was used by 108,000 people a month in 1991. The scope of the operation is made possible through the donated labor of 1800 volunteers and a paid staff of forty-two employees. An efficient division of labor covers all phases of the operation from collection, whether by gleaners in the fields or drivers at the back door of the supermarket, to a variety of distribution methods and sites.

When the work of the Food Bank began, the majority of food recipients were elderly. Operation Brown Bag supplied low-income seniors with a bag of groceries a week. The cost is $10.00 and the same people who receive the food are many

times the volunteers who work in handling the food and filling the grocery bags. Once assembled, the food is distributed at various sites throughout Santa Clara and San Mateo counties. Present figures show 10,000 low-income seniors receive food weekly in this single operation.

The majority of recipients at Second Harvest in 1992 are families. Children represent one-half of the beneficiaries of the program, families over 85 percent. In spite of the increasing rate of supply, it has not kept pace with demand. Workers dispensing food feel a client receives less now than in 1980.[22] People who are hungry are often either homeless or without permanent housing.

Alma's involvement with the county Food Bank gave her a broader interest of the hardships experienced by the people who used the service. In 1985, Alma began work with the housing coalition in the Council of Churches in Santa Clara County and through that organization with the Legislative Task Force and the Hunger Task Force of the United Methodist Church.

On her way to do volunteer work at the Food Bank in 1980, Alma was involved in the most serious accident of her life. A drunken driver pursued by two police cars collided with her small car at a busy San Jose intersection. Alma's car was totaled; her head smashed the windshield. The head injury she sustained resulted in permanent damage to her equilibrium. The trauma of the accident, along with the pain and therapy necessary for recovery, diminished Alma's usual zest for life. The loss of her car and the subsequent fear of driving limited her activities drastically. After almost four years of treatment, Alma began to regain her vitality. When her strength returned, her spirits lifted and she bought another car.

Throughout her convalescence Alma maintained connections with friends at her church. When she felt well enough to resume her normal activities, the

homeless in the San Jose area were a focus of concern at United Methodist. The church reflected the larger concerns of the county Council of Churches, a local chapter of the ecumenical National Council of Churches. Housing was a familiar issue for Alma. Her experiences in Oakland after World War II gave her insight into the human costs of the housing problem. Also, Alma considered her own situation. It wasn't hard to realize that "There, but for the grace of God, go I." Without her parents' gift of a home, her own life might be very different. Alma, at age eighty, decided to do what she could for the homeless.

The approach to assisting the homeless in Santa Clara County was not so different that in other cities nationwide. It was assumed homelessness was a temporary condition, requiring temporary shelter. During the last decade the number of homeless people in the United States has increased steadily between ten to twenty percent annually. The statistic is difficult to verify; the very nature of homelessness is transience. In the 1990s in Santa Clara County, there are approximately 6,000 homeless families in the county at any one time, 22,000 individuals. Churches are directly involved with the housing crisis. "Cataclysmic change is underway in the relationship of people with housing nationwide, and churches are experiencing its immediate effects."[23]

Comments from a paper addressing *The Housing Crisis and The Church* prepared and published by the Council of Churches of Santa Clara County describe the situation.

> Multi-year waiting lists for affordable housing, the expiration of federal HUD mortgages on low income housing sites, the gentrification of single-room occupancy hotel properties, and the greater share of housing costs relative to incomes have directly resulted in much of the movement of poverty from indoors to outdoors. [24]

The vision of housing as a Federal responsibility began to change during the

Carter administration and accelerated during the Reagan years. The Federal budget for housing decreased from $30 billion to $7 billion. As a line item in the budget, housing expenditures declined from 7.4 percent in 1978 to .07 percent in 1988. Low-income housing in California, which had troubles while Alma was in Oakland in the 1940s and 1950s, was almost non-existent by 1988, $0.64 per capita. (New York spent $5.34, Massachusetts $17.80 per capita.) By way of priorities, California budgeted $1.9 billion for prisons and only $282 million for housing the homeless in 1989.[25]

The report by the local Council of Churches repeated the comments of the business community in Oakland years earlier. Cheap housing is considered "an urban blight" and the presence of poor people is "bad for business." As the cheap housing disappeared in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, California experienced huge inflation in housing costs. As housing costs escalated, funds for poor families, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), were cut by 30 percent when adjusted for inflation. [26]

Nationally, the military buildup of the 1980s affected the cost of money. On a state level, Proposition 13, passed in 1978 in a taxpayers' revolt, limited revenue available to local governments. "In this new political climate housing is seen as a loser and commercial and industrial development as money makers." Locally, Santa Clara County alone accounted for 43 percent of the Bay Area's unmet need in housing.[27] These were the conditions when Alma became involved with the Task Force at United Methodist Church.

Alma learned of Reverend Marley Spilman's dream of a more permanent solution that could break the cycle of hopelessness. She met Rev. Marley Spilman, a female minister on leave from St. Paul's United Methodist Church, in 1987. In the

mid-1980s, Rev. Spilman saw a ministry in attempting to provide decent housing for the many homeless whom she saw daily in downtown San Jose. With the assistance of her husband, Jack, and church groups interested in meeting this need, Marley began to consider housing alternatives. She recognized a need beyond the temporary or emergency measures provided by local shelters and armories. Rev. Spilman envisioned permanent shared housing for low-income workers. She was sensitive to the dangerous balancing act played out in the lives of the working poor. By assuring a low-income worker of a decent place to live at a reasonable rent, Rev. Spilman hoped, such intervention could prevent homelessness.

By 1991 the organization that Spilman founded, Acts Contributing to Solutions for the Homeless (A.C.T.S.), participated in managing five domiciles. The properties are leased from individuals aware of the goals of the organization. The tenants are low-income workers, responsible for the rent and maintenance of the property and required to conform to family living standards. The communal living approach has proved very successful. Neighbors who might otherwise voice the standard "not in my back yard" objection to low-income housing have voiced no complaints. During the days Alma told her story, she was temporarily sharing her home with a woman referred by A.C.T.S. Fund raising is always a need with A.C.T.S.; Alma is a regular participant in these activities. She also volunteers at the House of the Potter.

In January 1991 A.C.T.S. undertook a new venture and opened the House of the Potter in downtown San Jose (open 9 to 5 Monday through Thursday and a half a day on Saturday). Its mission is to provide a place for the homeless during the hours when the shelters and armories are closed. Grants and contributions provide help with the expense of running the center. A.C.T.S. provides hot lunches which

are alternately provided by various church groups and women's organizations, such as the Junior League. Guests are directed to the house either by social welfare agencies and churches or through word of mouth on the street. In addition to a hot meal, guests may enjoy a hot shower and choose from a closet of donated clean clothes.

Alma's volunteer activities are the result of social needs not apparent when she left New York City. During the last two decades, from the time Alma arrived in San Jose until she sat down to tell her story, major changes occurred in all sectors of American life. Besides the political disillusionment caused by the Watergate scandal and the Vietnam war in the 1970s, the economic policies of fiscal conservatives during the 1980s have created doubts about the role of government in meeting social needs of the disadvantaged. White-collar crime, under the mantle of deregulation, created a scandal in the savings and loan industries that will ultimately cost the taxpayer a half-trillion dollars.[28] The U.S. became a debtor nation during these decades. The social ramifications of these circumstances include an increased risk of unemployment and, for most, a reduction of basic human services in health, education and welfare.

The turmoil in the lives of many of those whom Alma encountered through her volunteer work was due to a major shift in the country's industrial base. During the 1950s when Americans were hungry for the consumer goods denied during the previous decades by war and Depression, business boomed. One third of all jobs were in the manufacturing sector. Assembling cars, appliances, electronics, and clothing provided employment for millions who worked with their hands. By the 1980s, these jobs were disappearing in the United States. Slowly but surely competition from foreign countries, countries with lower labor costs and with equal

or superior technologies, overwhelmed American industry.

How did this happen? An explanation is offered by Pulitzer Prize-winning reporters, Donald L. Barlett and James R. Steele, in their book *America: What Went Wrong?* The authors maintain that "shrinking paychecks, disappearing factory jobs, fat salaries for corporate executives, uncontrolled business debt, and a deteriorating standard of living are the visible consequences of the distorted government rule book."[29] The lack of government leadership, the narrowness of corporate vision, the excesses of self-interest as opposed to community interest are responsible for bringing unexpected change to the lives of millions. Even Hollywood could not resist a commentary on the 1980s. In a film of the same name, the role of "Wall Street" was epitomized by a broker who told the audience sincerely, "Greed is good."

The hard times of the 1980s were often overshadowed in the daily press by the good times experienced by the wealthy. In a paradox borrowed from Dickens, "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times." As unemployment hit record levels, the salaries of corporate executives kept pace. Barlett and Steele maintain that one major reason for the declining fortunes of workers is the shift in the "wage and salary structure of American business, encouraged by federal tax policies." In 1959, the top 4% of American workers earned as much as the bottom 35%. By 1989, the top 4% earned the equivalent of the bottom 51%.[30]

The primary cause of the transfer of wealth from the middle class to the upper class is demonstrated in one of many charts presented by Barlett and Steele. Between the 1950s and the 1980s individual tax burden had increased from 61 percent to 83 percent. Corporate share had diminished from 39 percent to 17 percent. In an effort to attract foreign-owned companies, tax incentives waive the

usual ratio between taxes and profits. Foreign investors in America realizing healthy profits pay less income tax than the American middle-class family.[31]

As the higher-paying manufacturing jobs left the country, the number of retail and service jobs increased. "A recent study [1989] by the Association of Bay Area Governments found that 47% of all new jobs created between 1978 and 1985 paid less than $14,000 per year."[32] People depending on the two hundred food banks nationwide are usually those living on the edge, working at less than a living wage, supplementing the weekly food allotment. In the Bay Area, low-income workers pay more than 50 percent of their income for rent.[33] The homeless with no permanent address are unable to apply for state or federal financial welfare assistance. They are also unable to vote to affect social policy.

With a large segment of the population untrained and unskilled, the need for education becomes critical. However, funds that in the 1950s were allocated toward education, health, and social services in the 1990s are required to pay the interest on the national debt. Responsibility for social welfare programs has shifted from the federal to the state level. Conditions at the state level reflect the national lack of creative leadership.

When Alma spoke about current conditions, her "biggest concern among housing, hunger, legislative, is really what is happening to the children today in education."[34] For Alma, who considers education as the most critical factor in maintaining what her father described as the "democratic experiment," the situation in California is particularly distressing. In recent years a state deficit of ten billion dollars has resulted in unprecedented restraints on educational spending. A recent study revealed that California, once a national leader in providing high-quality education and educational opportunities, has slipped ignominously to the bottom

twenty-five percent in spending per student. (California is ranked thirty-sixth among the fifty states.)

Alma's concerns are about more than dollars spent. She is critical of educational practices that utilize norm-referenced tests. The widespread use of standardized testing, developed in the 1930s, assumes that student abilities are distributed evenly over the standard bell-shaped curve. Critics, such as Alma, observe that this curve unnecessarily limits the number of children who can be successful in the classroom. There is much to complain about in a state where education has become a casualty of the budget process, and in a nation that weighs the merits of education on a scale calibrated by test scores. Alma's indignation gives her the energy to join those supporting the radical vision of public education endorsed by Thomas Jefferson, pioneered by Horace Mann, rearticulated by John Dewey, and celebrated by millions, including David and Maggie Gloeckler.

TULE LAKE REVISITED, 1991

At the end of September, 1991, Alma was among a group of 370 people from across the nation who journeyed to Tule Lake, California. The pilgrimage was to commemorate that bleak chapter of American history that began with Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066. This was the fifth pilgrimage organized by Japanese Americans since 1979 and it enjoyed the largest attendance. San Josean Susan Hayase delivered the Tule Lake Committee Keynote Address. She attributed the attendance figures to two factors. One was the forthcoming observance of the 50th anniversary of the incarceration. Also, this was the first pilgrimage since Japanese Americans started receiving redress payments.

The move for redress that Alma first heard discussed in 1945 became a reality with the creation of the Office of Redress Administration (ORA) in 1988.

The ORA was established after the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 became law and decreed that eligible individuals of Japanese ancestry who were evacuated, relocated or interned during World War II would receive financial compensation for the government's actions. In large measure financial restitution by the United States government came from the efforts of the Sansei, third-generation Japanese Americans. Once the Sansei became aware of the enormity of the injustice committed, they worked untiringly to secure some token redress.

Conversations during the pilgrimage revealed that at war's end most Nisei and Issei reentered American society and closed their minds on the shame of their camp experiences. So complete was the denial that in many cases their children were unaware of the emotional trauma, physical hardship, or the financial loss suffered by their parents and grandparents. It was not until decades passed that Sansei, like Susan Hayase, energized perhaps by the political activism of Afro-Americans, organized to push hard for redress. Japanese American groups went time and again to Washington, D.C., petitioning Congress to acknowledge the harmfulness of government policies during the war years. The 1991 Tule Lake Pilgrimage celebrated their victorious efforts. Hayase said:

> It's a strange time. I feel like I've suddenly awakened to find that I'm 35 years old. Where did the last 12 years go since my first pilgrimage? I know many people here tonight who, like me, have spent their entire adult lives working for redress. And there are many who spent a large chunk of their retirement years doing the same. After so many years, it's hard to get used to victory; it's hard to comprehend the impact that all of this has had on us.[35]

The impact was memorable in the emotions displayed by former internees as they shared their stories, some for the first time, in group discussions. Alma spent the weekend searching the faces but found no one she knew. However, she rejoiced with anyone willing to talk with her. Within her lifetime the truth of

Japanese American wartime experiences had been institutionalized in museums and historical projects. Living long enough to witness the correction of social wrongs keeps hope alive for Alma. Her social philosophy gave a deep psychic meaning to democracy; as a personal value, this has not faded with age.

ALMA'S DILEMMA

Alma's empathy with students' classroom performance and her resistance to labeling abilities based on testing results may well relate to her own learning experiences. One problem that Alma encountered is succinctly described by professor, Philip Phenix. Phenix explained that "intelligence is not measured by how open we are to new phenomena, but how a person can actively discriminate in his entertainment of stimuli . . . .Our humanness rests on a wise asceticism, not on indiscriminate hospitality to every message" we receive from the world about us.[36] Alma has found it difficult to claim for herself the right to "discriminate" that Phenix describes as an essential part of "our humanness."

The analytical abstraction necessary to reduce the complexity of material required that Alma, at some point, had to narrow the focus of any study. Although Alma appreciated the logic of this necessity, she questioned her right to draw conclusions based on limited knowledge. In Alma's view everything is interrelated; nothing exists in isolation. How is it possible to selectively discriminate among components of knowledge without upsetting the delicate balance that creates unity? In 1991 in correspondence about Alma, Dr Leland Jacobs wrote:

> I admire Alma's attempts to move toward the goal of understanding wholly. I don't think her wanderings limit her creativity--actually I think that it has been the reverse. But it makes her seeking so different from most educators that she keenly (probably too keenly) feels she is not making enough progress on what she would so like to be able to achieve.[37]

Alma's fundamental insecurity about the relative merits of what she was able

to claim as fact has interfered with her ability to contribute to the "body of knowledge" so revered by scholars. Since receiving her doctoral degree in 1969, Alma has not published additional writings on literary criticism. During the telling of her story, Alma spoke of her "regret." "I have regretted not making a bigger contribution to the department of education or to the field of education."[38] In a different conversation, Alma spoke of her "shame" in this regard.

Interestingly enough, Alma perceived "the field of education" in professional, not humanistic terms. She weighed her contribution in terms of published material as the objective measure of her scholarship. The classroom experience, always, in Alma's opinion, the legitimate birthplace of educational theory, became a matter of subjective interpretation. Unless the success that Alma experienced in her last teaching assignment was recorded and critiqued by others, it did not, in her mind, constitute a contribution to the profession. A teacher shares knowledge for the benefit of all. Alma's professional concerns, like her social concerns, consistently extend beyond self into the community.

Alma has been a part of the American educational system for her entire career, from 1928 until 1975. Although very interested in whatever presented itself as present-day educational theory, she never felt a strong need to conform to current practices. Alma relied on her personal evaluation of students' needs, and her collaboration with colleagues, in assessing how best to proceed in times of doubt. During a career of almost fifty years, pressures within the profession never caused Alma confusion about her own competency in the classroom. Her confusion came in attempting to document and claim value for the "incidentals" observed daily in the classroom. The learning potential of such qualitative moments is keenly appreciated by Alma, a practiced observer. These incidents are easily dismissed as

"inconsequential" by policy makers preoccupied with quantifying the classroom experience.

Almost from the start Alma was aware of values within the system at odds with her own. Her dream of collegial problem-solving while seated at a round table, as opposed to receiving solutions from on high, was seldom realized during her career. It is a tribute to her independent judgment, her resourcefulness, and a religious belief which names love as the greatest virtue, that Alma survived the educational bureaucracy. She is not without scars from the encounter. After years in a system that counted "insubordination" as the greatest sin teachers commit, Alma is infinitely sensitive to the use of language. Words like "contended," " maintained," "indicted," are not in her vocabulary.

By maintaining a low profile, she was able to contribute autonomously and with great satisfaction within the public educational system. She chose not to became a part of the same system that established educational policy. Her behavior appears to reflect the Mennonite lesson learned in childhood--to be "in the world but not of the world." As a result of this enigma, she lives with the frustration of being affected by policy decisions that she chose not to formulate.

Alma may march to her own drummer; however, she lives with the consequences. As a single aging woman without children she spends much of her time alone. Although the Gloeckler kinship network remains intact, it is strained. Alma is without the daily sustenance of the "communities of discourse" so valued during her career. She is alone in assessing her personal usefulness to the profession. It is difficult to structure a message for an unseen audience. Alma blames herself for not making a greater contribution to the field of education. She had forgotten the mutual benefits of collegiality. The collaboration necessary to

accomplish this oral history demonstrated how much she relished both an attentive audience and the intellectual discourse.

Additionally, the project heightened her awareness of how social resources for the aged focus largely on either the custodial or recreational aspects of retirement. Little serious effort is directed at reaping the harvest of wisdom stored in the hearts and minds of "senior citizens." As her story has merit, so is merit to be found in the stories of others. A new category may be added to Alma's list of social concerns--the aged.

AGING AND CULMINATIONS

When Alma talked about the aging process, her feelings were mixed. The benefits of leisure time were balanced against the inevitable loss of stamina and agility.

> ALMA: Then I realized that at my age, there are a lot of losses. I used to be the fastest runner in school, even though I was a girl. And then I became a very good hiker, no miles were too much. And now I can't even do that. I get tired out right away with all these flus and stuff. And then I used to have a very nice clean voice. Now I have that scratchy, scratchy voice on the tape.[39]

In addition to personal physical losses, Alma has lost most of her peers. Her dear friends from the Oakland days, the social activists who broadened Alma's awareness of political issues, are gone. The loss of old friends is particularly difficult because with their passing, Alma lost a part of her own history in shared memories. Although some friends are gone, others are as long-lived as Alma herself. Bernice Cofer, the missionary friend who introduced her to social activism in 1945, now lives in New Jersey. Leland Jacobs, who was such an important person in Alma's life in New York, is busy writing at age 85. In personal correspondence during 1991 Dr. Jacobs generously contributed his memories of Alma and his insights about her gifts to the field of education.

Alma's interest in education and learning continues unabated in retirement. She reads now as voraciously as ever. Of particular interest at present are the writings of Harvard psychologist, Howard Gardener, on the brain as it relates to learning. Alma receives two professional publications: one published by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, the other by the Association of Childhood Education International. Watching one of her heroes, Bill Moyers, on public television, Alma learned of the genetic scientific research conducted by 1983 Nobel prize winner, Dr. Barbara McClintock. McClintock's life was chronicled by UC, Berkeley, science historian, Evelyn Fox Keller. The title of Keller's work, *A Feeling for the Organism,* is named for McClintock's method of research. Alma was thrilled to learn about McClintock's "deepest belief that you cannot do good research without a feeling for the organism."[40] Such validation of her own experience kept her smiling for a week!

Alma's conversations are filled with citations of scholars whose research corroborates her opinions. By quoting various authorities, she is able to silence the voice of that little man who sits on her shoulder and tells her she knows nothing because she is a woman.

> ALMA: And so, I feel I have to validate [myself] by way of those who have the right to speak. And by quoting them I can say, "See, he gave me permission to say that." That is my Achilles heel. I know better than this. But try and see how far you get when you start talking as a woman about things like that.[41]

The leisure afforded by aging is one positive aspect of the process. In Alma's view, "retirement is a marvelous time." The years have been kind to her because she has the "scope" (a favorite word) to "remain fully active." Sitting in a rocking chair "waiting around" is not a healthy idea at any age. Alma remains optimistic in spite of physical losses because "the body keeps healing. I remember Mother. Mother

was nearly ninety and her body still kept healing. That's something everybody should know."[42]

During the last interview with Alma, she spoke about her current priorities. At the top of her list was "culminations." Quite early, Alma realized that life was not a series of episodes neatly culminated. Rather, it was necessary to accept the painful fact that the unfinished business of life is part of the human dilemma. Along with this acceptance came the humbling awareness of personal fallibility. Intellectually, Alma came to terms with the notion of "doing the best you can and moving on." In a religious sense, she equated such experiences with death and resurrection. Life has many such instances. However, on an affective level Alma presents an example of the familiar conflict between knowing and feeling.

Occasionally, in the telling of her story, it appeared that although the Christian philosophy allowed for failure and redemption, Alma's demands of self were not as generous. Her failure to fulfill the expectations of future scholarship, conferred with a doctoral degree, weighed heavily upon her in retirement. That voice of doubt, so enduring in women, was not silenced by success. It often whispered to her when the house became quiet after 1975. Her inability to focus the intellectual energy required to complete additional writing caused her to doubt the value of her contribution. In her need to claim certain knowledge, Alma held herself to a standard of perfection she decried in others.

As the oldest surviving member of the Gloeckler and Peters families, Alma's interest in family history shared the intensity of her professional concerns. The memorabilia collected over the years, the boxes of family photographs, her personal writings, including prayers and poetry, also spoke to her. There was a story to tell about herself, her parents, grandparents, and of the people and ideas that influenced

the direction of her life. Telling the story rekindled memories for Alma which reassured her that the varied strands of her life are creating a fabric that is becoming a tapestry of unique value. Claiming the authorship of her own story revitalized Alma. Happily, it seems, the opportunity to create a culmination of her family story may release the energy for Alma to express her ideas about all that is waiting to be said.

> ALMA: This little project is making it possible for me to pull my head together. I do have a story to tell and I'll have a chance to tell it. My word can go on. I don't have any children to send forth into the world and into the future like my sisters, but I have my culminations to leave behind. (chuckle) So, I have a reason to get up in the morning, and a reason for going to bed, and a reason for staying in touch, and even for wanting to stay well.[43]

END NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

[1]John B. Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church* (Hillsboro, Kansas: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1975), 6.

[2]Stanley E. Voth, *From Holland to Henderson* (Henderson, Nebraska: Henderson Centennial Committee, 1975), 1.

[3]Toews, 7.

[4]John H. Redekop, *A People Apart* (Winnipeg: The Christian Press, 1987), 135.

[5]Ibid., 137.

[6]Clarence Hiebert, ed., *Brothers in Deed to Brothers in Need* (Newton: Faith and Life Press, 1967), 111.

[7]Ibid., 105.

[8]Voth, 10.

[9]Hiebert, 105.

[10]Ibid., 451.

[11]Voth, 10.

[12]Toews, 19.

[13]Ibid., 24.

[14]Ibid., 29.

[15]Ibid., 30.

[16]Ibid., 32.

[17]Voth, 10-11.

[18]Toews, 34-35.

[19]Ibid., 46.

[20]Ibid., 84.

[21]Hiebert, 102.

[22]Ibid., 75.

[23]Ibid., 105.

[24]Hiebert, 65.

[25]Ibid., 111.

[26]Ibid., 124-146 passim.

[27]Ibid., 121, 123.

[28]Ibid., 61.

[29]Ibid., 102.

[30]Ibid., 71.

[31]Ibid., 55.

[32]Ibid., 69.

[33]Ibid., 108.

[34]Ibid., 295.

[35]Mennonite Brethren Churches of Delft, and Mountain Lake, Minnesota, *80th Anniversary 1877-1957 of the Churches of Delft and Mountain Lake* (Mountain Lake, Minnesota: Anniversary Committee, 1957), 7.

[36]Alma Gloeckler, Interview by author, Tape 2, 9.

[37]Toews, 80.

[38]Ibid., 131.

[39]Hiebert, 56.

[40]Ibid., 442.

[42]Colliers Encyclopedia, Volume 10 (New York: Colliers Publishing Company, 1963), 219.

[43]Hiebert, 39.

[44]Elmer F. Suderman, *What Can We Do Here?* (Minnesota: Daguerreotype Publishers, 1974), 29.

[45]Hiebert, 368.

[46]Ibid., 401.

[47]Voth, 33.

[48]Hiebert, 368-69.

[49]Ibid., 368.

[50]The shipping manifests that identified arrival dates for Carl Gloeckler and Jacob Wiens into the United States were collected by Mennonite Jacob Y. Shantz. Shantz acknowledged that the listings are incomplete. The primary resources collected by Clarence Hiebert for *Brothers in Deed to Brothers in Need,* which included the "Shantz Lists," do not extend beyond 1885. The information relating to the Peters family was recorded by Isbrand himself in a small book of family history.

[51]Toews, 142.

[52]Ibid., 10.

[53]Ibid., 148.

[54]*Salt Creek Baptist Church Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Program*, Salt Creek, Oregon, 1971.

[55]Two of those families, the Bergen brothers, Henry and Jacob, remained lifelong friends of Maggie Peters. After moving from Oregon to Kansas, Henry

stayed awhile and then moved to Canada. Jacob farmed a homestead in 1894. His family was among the first Mennonite Brethren to settle in Shafter, California, 1909. Jacob Bergen's daughter, Regina Bergen Becker, wrote of her memories of the early days in Shafter, "Recollections of a Shafter Pioneer," in 1986.

[56]*Polk County Centennial* (Dallas, Oregon: Centennial Committee, 1947), 29.

CHAPTER TWO

[1] F.C.C. Lynch, Director, Natural Resources Intelligence Services, *Saskatchewan.* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1925), 4.

[2]Ibid., 46.

[3]Alma Gloeckler, Interview by author, Tape 2, 16.

[4]Hiebert, *Friends in Deed,* 34.

[5]Borden History Book Committee, *Our Treasured Heritage: Borden and District* (Altona: Friesen Printers, 1980), v.

[6]Toews, *History of the Mennonite Brethren Church*, 158.

[7]Tape 2, p. 25.

[8]Tape 3, 31.

[9]Borden, *Heritage,* 2.

[10]Ibid., 86.

[11]Ibid., 177.

[12]Borden Mennonite Church, *Precious Memories: Borden Mennonite Brethren Church* (Altona: Friesen Printers, 1980), 26.

[13]Ibid., 109.

[14]Borden, *Heritage,* 227.

[15]Tape 1, 7.

[16]Borden, *Heritage,* 190.

[17]Borden, *Memories,* 33.

[18]Borden, *Heritage*, 384.

[19]Ibid., 8.

[20]Tape 3, 16.

[21]Borden, *Memories,* 32.

[22]Ibid., 32.

[23]Ibid., 32.

[24]Tape 2, 12.

[25]Toews, 197.

[26]Tape 2, 11.

[27]Borden, *Heritage*, 185.

[28]Tape 2, 9.

[29]Toews, 238.

[30]Ibid., 240.

[31]Borden, *Memories,* 32.

[32]Toews, 253.

[33]Mennonite Brethren Church, *A Century of Grace and Witness 1860-1960* (Hillsboro, Kansas: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1960), 70.

[34]Tape 2, 37.

[35]Howard Gardner, *The Mind's New Science* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1987); Wilder Penfield and Lamar Roberts, *Speech and Brain Mechanisms* (New

York: Atheneum, 1959); Richard M. Restak, M.D., *The Brain* (New York: Bantam, 1984); Oliver Sacks, *Seeing Voices* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

[36]Tape 1, 11.

[37]Tape 1, 11.

[38]Tape l, 12.

[39]Tape 3, 7.

[40]Tape 3, 7.

[41]Tape 3, 30.

[42]Tape 1, 14.

[43]Tape 2, 21.

[44]Seena B. Kohl, "Image and Behavior," in *Women and Farming* ed. Wava G. Haney and Jane B. Knowles (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), 96.

[45]Tape 2, 3.

[46]Elmer Suderman, *What Can We Do Here?* (Minnesota: Daguerreotype Publishers, 1974), 25.

[47]Tape 3, 31.

[48]Tape 3, 31.

[49]Lynch, *Saskatchewan*, 47.

[50]Tape 3, 25.

[51]Tape 3, 18.

[52]Borden, *Heritage*, 80.

[53]Tape 3, 3.

[54]Borden, *Heritage*, 66.

[55]Ibid., 188.

CHAPTER THREE

[1]Alma Gloeckler, Interview by author, Tape 3, 37.

[2]Tape 3, 32.

[3]Robert T. Bann, *Shafter's Golden Memories 1913-1963* (Shafter, 1963), 3.

[4]Regina Becker, *A Bundle of Living, Recollections of a Shafter Pioneer* (Shafter Historical Society, 1986), 20.

[5]Bann, 8.

[6]Ibid., 21.

[7]Tape 3, 35.

[8]Bann, 21.

[9]Tape 3, 34.

[10]Bann, 20.

[11]Tape 4, 8.

[12]Tape 3, 33.

[13]Tape 4, 1.

[12]Tape 4, 2.

[15]Walter Rochs Goldschmidt, *As Ye Sow: Three Studies in the Social Consequences of Agribusiness,* Foreword by Senator Gaylord Nelson (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947; Montclair: Allanheld, Osmun & Company, 1978), 95.

[16]Tape 4, 6.

[17]Tape 4, 9.

[18]Personal papers in the possession of Alma Gloeckler.

[19]Nancy Grey Osterud, "Land, Identity and Agency in the Oral Autobiographies of Farm Women," in *Women and Farming, Changing Roles, Changing Structures,* ed. Wava G. Haney and Jane B. Knowles (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), 73-87.

[20]Tape 4, 14.

[21]Tape 4, 8.

[22]J.C. Penner and Adolf I. Frantz, *Through the Years: A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church of Shafter, California* (Shafter, 1986), 6.

[23]Ibid., 7.

[24]Toews, *History of the Mennonite Brethren Church,* 229.

[25]Ibid., 199.

[26]Tape 4, 12.

[27]Tape 4, 4.

[28]Tape 4, 4.

[29]Penner, 10.

[30]Tape 3, 38.

[31]Penner, 7.

[32]Tape 4, 5.

[33]Toews, 270.

[34]Ibid., 94.

[35]*Taborite Annual,* 1926 (Hillsboro, Kansas, 1926), 12.

[36]Ibid., 68.

[37]Tape 4, 3.

[38]Tape 4, 23.

[39]Tape 4, 23.

[40]Tape 4, 23.

[41]Tape 4, 17.

[42]Tape 4, 17.

[43]Tape 4, 18.

[44]John Dewey, *Education Today* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 9.

[45]Ibid., 6.

[46]Max C. Otto, "John Dewey," in *Colliers Encyclopedia,* 1963 ed.

[47]Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, *The Dewey School,* Introduction by John Dewey (D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1936; New York: reprint, Atherton Press, 1965), v.

[48]Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 282.

[49]Boyd H. Bode, *Progressive Education at the Crossroads* (New York: Newson & Company, 1938), 19.

[50]Mayhew and Edwards, 2.

[51]Ibid., vii.

[52]John Dewey, *School and Society*, Introduction by Leonard Carmichael (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1900; reprint, Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1968), ix.

[53]"Social Darwinism," a term associated with Spencer, decreed that human evolution was demonstrated by an individual's ranking within the existing social hierarchy. Factors such as class and race were the predictable result of breeding

and therefore, revealed the natural order of things. Critics of the theory charged that it served to maintain the status quo and served to keep people "in their place."

[54]Carrol Atkinson and Eugene T. Maleska, *The Story of Education* (New York: Bantam Books, 1962), 71.

[55]Ibid., 78.

[56]Ibid., 155.

[57]Ibid., 81.

[58]Dewey, *School and Society*, 117.

[59]Dewey, *Education Today*, 271.

[60]Sister Joseph Mary Raby, S.S.J., "John Dewey and Progressive Education," ed. John Blewett, S.J., in *John Dewey: His Thought and Influence* with a Foreword by John S. Brubacher (New York: Fordham University Press, 1960), 110.

[61]Bode, 31.

[62]Israel Scheffler, *Philosophy and Education* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1958), 267.

[63]Dewey, *Education Today,* 6.

[64]Atkinson and Maleska, 112.

[65]John Dewey, *Democracy and Education:* An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), 112.

[66]See Nell Painter, *Standing at Armageddon;* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987) and Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

[67]Atkinson and Maleska, 86.

[68]Dewey, *School and Society*, 25.

[69]In John Dewey's work, *Education Today*, he credits this adage to Colonel Francis W. Parker, 219.

[70]Tape 5, 25.

[71]John Dewey, *Interest and Effort in Education* (n.p. 1913; reprint,Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), 35.

[72]Tape 5, 6.

[73]Tape 5, 2.

[74]Tape 5, 3.

[75]Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farm Workers 1870-1941* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1981), 19.

[76]Ibid., 21-22.

[77]Ibid., 21.

[78]Ibid., 16.

[79]Ibid., 31.

[80]Tape 5, 9.

[81]Tape 5, 10.

[82]Tape 5, 10.

[83]Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field, The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (n.p. 1935, 1939; reprint, Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1969, 320.

[84]Bann, 38.

[85]John Steinbeck, *The Harvest Gypsies, On the Road to the Grapes of Wrath,* (San Francisco News, 1936; reprint, Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1988 with Introduction by Charles Wollenberg), 19.

[86]Ibid., 23.

[87]Ibid., 33-34.

[88]Tape 5, 10.

[89]Tape 4, 16.

[90]Tape 4, 20.

[91]Tape 4, 20.

[92]Tape 4, 17.

[93]Tape 4, 12.

[94]John Dewey, *Art and Experience,* 9th ed. (New York: Capricon Books, 1934; reprint, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1958), 195.

[95]Tape 5, 13.

[96]Tape 5, 13.

[97]Tape 5, 14.

[98]Tape 5, 16.

[99]Tape 5, 17.

[100]Tape 5, 19. Much to Alma's great delight, fifteen years later when she was teaching in Oakland, she encountered a young man at UC Berkeley's Sather Gate, who called her by name and identified himself as her former student. He told her that was currently teaching German at the university. Also, he told Alma that he had been sent to Germany for special studies. "And you know what did it? It was Till!"

[101]Tape 5, 27.

[102]Tape 5, 27.

[103]Dewey, *Democracy and Education,* 115.

[104]Tape 5, 27.

[105]Tape 5, 19.

[106]Tape 5, 20.

[107]Tape 5, 20.

[108]Tape 5, 21.

[109]Tape 5, 22.

[110]Tape 5, 2.

[111]Political pressures brought to bear on the Bureau of Agricultural Economics delayed publication of Goldschmidt's work until 1947. A second study part of the plan from the outset, was never published. Goldschmidt believed that the unfortunate demise of the B.A.E. was a casualty of unfavorable corporate reaction to the Arvin-Dinuba study.

[112]Goldschmidt, 245.

[113]Ibid., 246.

[114]Paul Newell, "Looking Ahead," *Shafter Press,* 19 October 1944, 1.
[115]Goldschmidt, 249.
[116]Goldschmidt, 250.

[117]Daniels, 103.

[118]Goldschmidt, 456.

[119]Ibid., xxiv.

[120]Ibid., 456.

[121]Ibid., xxiv.

[122]Ibid., xli.

[123]Shafter Mennonite Brethren Church, 32.

[124]Comments by Teena Gloeckler Ogden in celebration of her parents' 50th wedding anniversary. Personal papers in Alma's possession.

[125]Isbrand Peters saved family correspondence between relatives in Canada and Russia. Alma intends to present these papers to the Mennonite Brethren archives in Fresno, California.

CHAPTER FOUR

[1]Rosalind A. Keep, *Fourscore Years, A History of Mills College* (Oakland: Mills College, 1931), 4.

[2]Ibid., 37.

[3]Ibid., 24.

[4]Ibid., 17.

[5]Ibid., 37.

[6]Ibid., 36.

[7]Ibid., 35.

[8]Ibid., 27.

[9]George Hedley, *Aurelia Henry Reinhardt: Portrait of a Whole Woman* (Oakland: Mills College, 1961), 110.

[10]Ibid., 104.

[11]Ibid., 108.

[12]Ibid., 108.

[13]*Education,* Volume 52, (March 26, 1981), 25.

[14]Keep, 18.

[15]Camille Brown, and Rosalind Cassidy, *Theory of Physical Education, A Guide to Program Change* (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1963), 162.

[16]Ibid., 160.

[17]Ibid., 162.

[18]Tape 6, 8.

[19]Hedley, 114.

[20]Tape 6, 5.

[21]Bernice Baxter, Rosalind Cassidy, *Group Experiences* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), 151-2.

[22]Bernice Baxter, *Teacher-Pupil Relationships* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), 2.

[23]Bernice Baxter, Thad Stevens, *Introduction to Global Geography, How to Study Maps and Globes* (San Francisco: Harr Wagner Publishing Company, 1945), 4.

[24]Antoine de Exupery, in Baxter and Cassidy, *Group Experiences,* frontispiece.

[25]Tape 7, 4.

[26]Tape 7, 5.

[27]Tape 7, 6.

[28]Tape

[29]tape 7,

[30]Marilyn S. Johnson, *The Western Front: World War II and the Transformation of West Coast Urban Life,* (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, May, 1990), 46.

[31]Ibid., 46-7.

[32]Ibid., 53.

[33]Ibid., 55.

[34]Ibid., 49.

[35]Ibid., 77.

[36]Ibid., 269.

[37]Ibid., 153.

[38]Ibid., 162.

[39]Ibid., 271.

[40]Akemi Kikumura, *Through Harsh Winters, The Life of a Japanese Immigrant Woman,* (Novato, California: Chandler & Sharp Publishers, 1981), 120.

[41]Tape 6, 1.

[42]Tape 6, 1.

[43]Tape 6, 2.

[44]Wallace Stegner, Introduction to *Life On Two Levels*, Autobiography of Josephine Duveneck (Los Altos, California: William Kaufmann, Inc., 1978), x.

[45]Duveneck, 100.

[46]Ibid., 156.

[47]Ibid., 286.

[48]Ibid., 230.

[49]Tape 6, 2.

[50]Tule Lake Pilgrimage Committee, *Tule Lake Pilgrimage: Our Journey Continues,* September 27-29, 1991.

[51]Ibid.,2.

[52]Duveneck, 236.

[53]Tule Lake Pilgrimate Committee, *Workshop*, September 27-29, 1991.

[54]Ibid., 3.

[55]Ibid., 3.

[56]Ibid., 4.

[57]Tule Lake Committee, *Bus Tour Script,* September 27-29, 1991.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Tape 7, 11.

[62]Tape 7, 13.

[63]Tape 7, 13.

[64]Tape 7, 14.

[65]Tape 7, 14.

[66]Tape 7, 15.

[67]Elizabeth Yates, *Howard Thurman, Portrait of a Practical Dreamer* (New York: The John Day Company, 1964), 125.

[68]Ibid., 160.

[69]Ibid., 166.

[70]Ibid., 167.

[71]Tape 8, 4.

[72]Yates, 170.

[73]Johnson, 307.

[74]Ibid., 309.

[75]Ibid., 318.

[76]Ibid., 309.

[77]Ibid., 340.

[78]Ibid., 347.

[79]Ibid., 340.

[80]Tape 7, 1.

[81]Tape 7, 2.

[82]Alma Gloeckler, *In Service Program of Growth for Teachers*, unpublished, 1952.

[83]Ibid., 6.

[84]Mary A. Sarvis and Marianne Pennehamp, *Collaboration in School Guidance - A Creative Approach* to *Pupil Personnel Work* (New York: Bruner/Mazel, 1970), x.

[85]Tape 6, 19.

[86]Sarvis, xi.

[87]Tape 6, 21.

[88]Tape 6, 21.

[90]Tape 6, 25.

[91]Tape 7, 15.

[92]Duveneck, 142.

[92]Ibid., 156.

[93]Ibid., 156.

[94]Ibid., 164.

[95]Irean Coyner, unpublished. Alma Gloeckler's personal papers.

[96]Dolores Garcia, Frances Hagerty, Madge Martin, *The Elementary Assistant Program, Its Development and Evaluation,* (unpublished Masters Thesis, San Francisco State College, 1954, 20.

[97]Ibid., 22.

[98]Tape 7, 19.

[99]Tape 8, 28.

[100]Tape 8, 31.

[101]Tape 8, 30.

[102]Tape 8, 29.

[103]Tape 8, 31.

[104]Tape 8, 28.

[105]Tape 8, 32.

[106]Tape 8, 30.

[107]Tape 9, 6.

[108]Tape 7, 22.

[109]Tape 7, 26.

[110]Tape 6, 28.

[111]Tape 7, 28.

[112]Alma Gloeckler's private papers.

[113]Alma Gloeckler's private papers.

[114]Alma Gloeckler's private papers.

[115]Tape 3, 31.

CHAPTER FIVE

[1]Tape 8, 9.

[2]Tape 8, 15.

[3]Personal correspondence, Leland B. Jacobs to Mary Carson, April, 1991.

[4]Boyd Bode, *Progressive Education at the Crossroads*(New York: Newson & Company, 1938), 41.

[5]Ibid., 39.

[6]Ibid., 14.

[7]Ibid., 14-27.

[8]*White Plains Reporter Dispatch*, November 5, 1954.

[9]Personal correspondence, Leland B. Jacobs to Mary Carson, July, 1991.

[10]Leland B. Jacobs, "Culture Patterns in Children's Fiction, *American Childhood Education International,* May, 1947, 432.

[11]Leland B. Jacobs, *EducationToday,* Bulletin 26, (New York: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., June, 1962.) 3.

[12]Leland B. Jacobs, "Reading Stories to Children," *The Instructor,* November, 1960, 36.

[13]Leland B. Jacobs, "Give Children Literature," *Education Today,* Bulletin 22 (New York: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., undated.)

[14]At about the same time, 1964-65, teacher Jonathon Kozol, author of *Death At An Early Age,* was fired by the Boston school system for using a "controversial" poem by Langston Hughes that was not on the city's approved reading list.

[15]Tape 9, 23.

[16]Tape 9, 23, tape 11, 11.

[17]Tape 9, 24.

[18]John Dewey, *Education Today* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 12.

[19]Tape 11, 11.

[20]Tape 10, 28, 29.

[21]David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd, A Study Of The Changing American Character* (New London: Yale University Press, 1950; abridged ed. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), 349.

[22]Ibid., 79.

[23]Ibid., 77-83.

[24]Ibid., 36.

[25]Ibid., 349.

[26]Ibid., 24.

[27]Richard I. Miller, "Admiral Rickover on American Education," *Journal of Teacher Education,* Volume X (September 1959), 343.

[28]Ibid., 333.

[29]Ibid., 333.

[30]Ibid., 337.

[31]Ibid., 357

[32]Tape10, 28.

[33]Tape 10, 28.

[34]Tape 10, 29.

[35]Robert Reich, *The Work of Nations*,(New York: Random House/Vintage Books, 1992), 60.

[36]Ibid., 60.

[37]Ibid., 61.

[38]Tape 9, 32.

[39]Tape 9, 34.

[40]Tape 10, 3.

[41]Tape 10, 11.

[42]Tape 10, 7.

[43]Tape 10, 7.

[44]Tape 10, 6.

[45]Tape 10, 10.

[46]Tape 10, 10.

[47]Tape 10, 9.

[48]Tape 10, 13.

[49]Tape 10, 13.

[50]Tape 10, 18.

[51]Tape 10, 18.

[52]Robert A. Dentler, "Barriers to Northern School Desegregation," *Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (Winter, 1966), 45.

[53]Tape 10, 26.

[54]Tape 10, 26.

[55]Tape 10, 10.

[56]Tape 10, 19.

[57]Tape 10, 22.

[58]tape 10, 22.

[59]Personal correspondence in the possession of Alma Gloeckler.

[60]Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1964), 69.

[61]Ibid., 37.

[62]Ibid., 11.

[63]Ibid., 97.

[64]Ibid., 99

[65]Ibid., 98.

[66]Ibid., 96.

[67]Ibid., 116.

[68]Ibid., 136.

[69]Ibid., 127.

[70]Ibid., 134-139.

[71]Ibid., 130-136..

[72]Ibid., 112-113.

[73]Ibid., 111.

[74]Ibid., 149.

[75]Ester Lloyd-Jones, "Women Today and Their Education," in *Teachers College Record* (April 1956), 433-35.

[76]Friedan, 150.

[77]Ibid., 150-52. Alma's advisor, Rosalind Cassidy, left Mills College in 1947 after almost thirty years on campus. Cassidy, an outspoken advocate for women, accepted a position at UCLA and remained on the faculty until her retirement in 1967.

[78]Tape 9, 8.

[79]Tape 9, 10.

[80]I am indebted to Christopher S. Carson for articulating this phrase.

[81]Tape 11, 1.

[82]Tape 11, 9.

[83]Tape 11, 1.

[84]Tape 11, 14.

[85]Philip H. Phenix, *Realms of Meaning: A Philosophy of the Curriculum for General Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), 34.

[86]Ibid.,9,10.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Ibid., 319.

[90]Ibid.

[91]Ibid.

[92]Ibid., 12.

[93]Tape 11, 25..

[94]Arthur Gans and Karl Beckson, *Readers Guide to Literary Terms,* (New York: Noonday Press, 1960) 25.

[95]Phenix, 182.

[96]Alma M. Gloeckler, *A Posited Basis for Criticism of Realistic Fiction For Beginning Readers* (Michigan: University Micro Films unpublished (Ed.D., 1969) 19.

[97]Ibid.,78.

[98]Ibid., 21. and 25.

[99]Ibid., 3.

[100]Ibid., 53.

[101]Jacobs, *"The Instructor," November, 1960. 35.*

[102]Gloeckler, *Basis for Criticism,* 222.

[103]Tape 11, 13.

[104]Phenix, xi.

[105]Tape 11, 19.

[106]Cox Commission Report, *Crisis at Columbia, Report of the Fact-Finding Commission Appointed To Investigate the Disturbances at Columbia University in April and May 1968* (New York:Vintage Books, 1968), 25.

[107]Tape 11, 19.

[108]Harold Taylor, *Students Without Teachers: The Crisis in the University* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1969, New York: Avon Books, 1970), 147.

[109]Ibid., 146.

[110]Ibid., 149.

[111]Ibid., 149-50.

[112]Phenix, 38.

[113]Arno A. Bellack, "The Structure of Knowledge and the Structure of the Curriculum," *A Reassessment of the Curriculum,* ed. Dwayne Huebner, (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), 29.

[114]Leland Jacobs, "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow and the Curriculum," *A Reassessment of the Curriculum*, ed. Dwayne Huebner (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), 104.

[115]Tape 9, 25.

[116]Tape 13, 33.

[117]Tape 13, 33.

[118]Tape 14, 3.

[119]Tape 12, 1.

[120]Tape 11, 13.

CHAPTER SIX

[1]Tape12, 4.

[2]Tape 12, 11.

[3]Tape 12, 12.

[4]Tape 12, 12.

[5]Tape 13, 2.

[6]Tape 13, 2.

[7]Tape 13, 2.

[8]Tape 13, 5.

[9]Tape 13, 7.

[10]Tape 13,7.

[11]Tape 13, 7.

[12]Tape 13, 12.

[13]Tape 13, 12.

[14]The Gloeckler children had goiters in Canada because of the lack of iodine in the water supply. In the United States some of the family required surgery to remedy the condtion. Everyone in the family took thyroid medication.

[15]Tape 13, 12.

[16]Alma Gloeckler's personal papers.

[17]Tape 13, 29.

[18]Tape 13, 15.

[19]Tape 14.6.

[20]Tape 14, 7.

[21]Tape 12, 25.

[22]Conversation with Food Bank staff member, L. Lucof, July 12, 1992.

[23]Fran Wagstaff and Jim Burklo, *Housing Crisis and the Church* (Council of Churches of Santa Clara County, 1989), 2.

[24]Ibid., 4.

[25]Ibid., 4.

[26]Ibid., 4.

[27]Ibid., 5.

[28]Donald L. Barlett and James B. Steele, *America: What Went Wrong?* (Kansas City: Andrews and McMeel, 1992), 43.

[29]Ibid., 25.

[30]Ibid., ix.

[31]Ibid., 93.

[32]Wagstaff and Burklo, 5.

[33]Ibid., 2.

[34]Tape 14, 12.

[35]Hayase, *Tule Lake Pilgrimage,* September 19, 1991.

[36]Phenix, 25.

[37]Leland B. Jacobs, personal correspondence to Mary Carson, July, 1991.

[38]Tape 11, 2.

[39]Tape 13, 24.

[40]Evelyn Fox Keller, in *Bill Moyer's A World of Ideas,* (New York: Doubleday, 1990) 73.

[41]Tape 13, 31.

[42]Tape 14, 12.

[43]Tape 14, 11.

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